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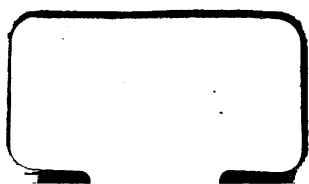
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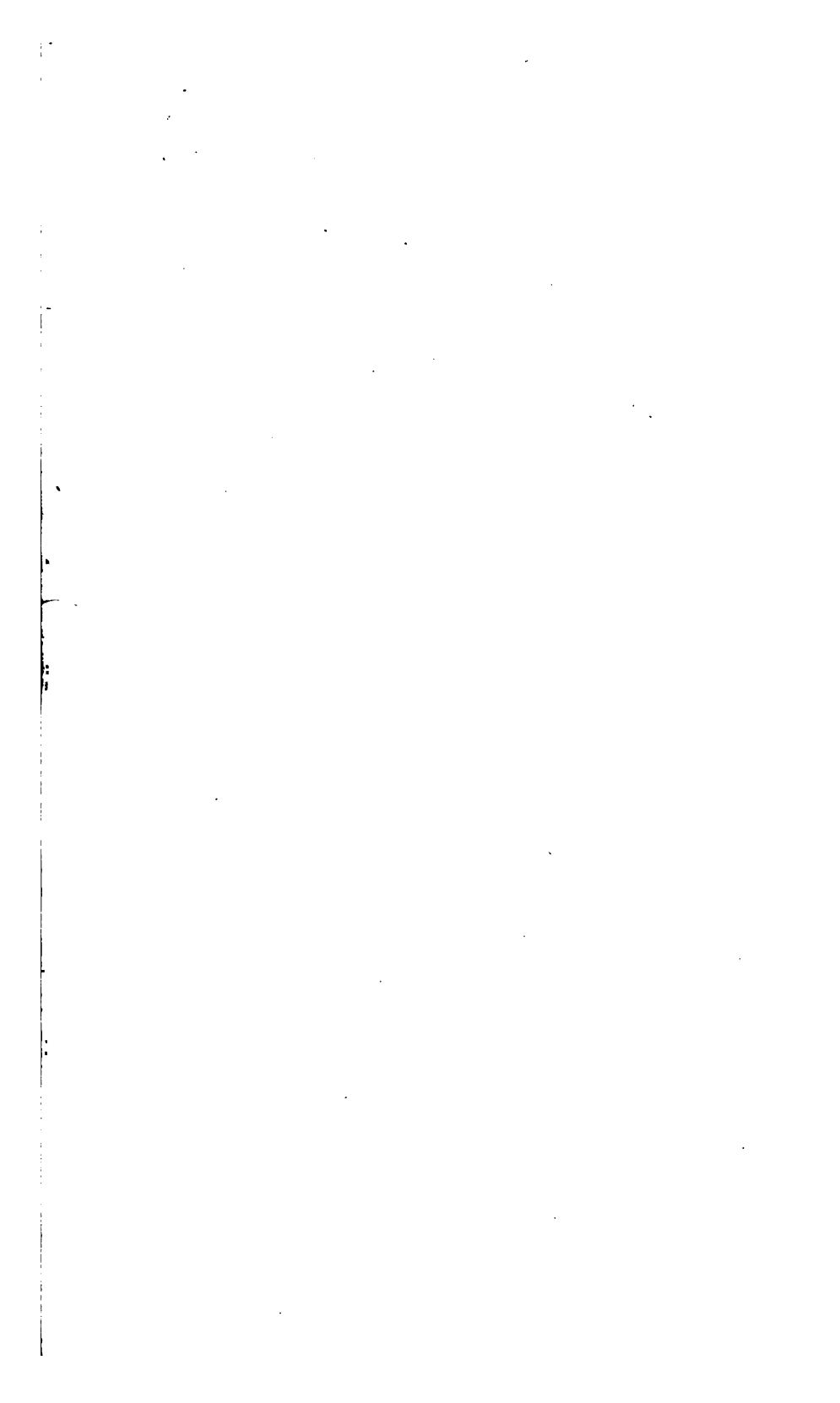






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Warwick



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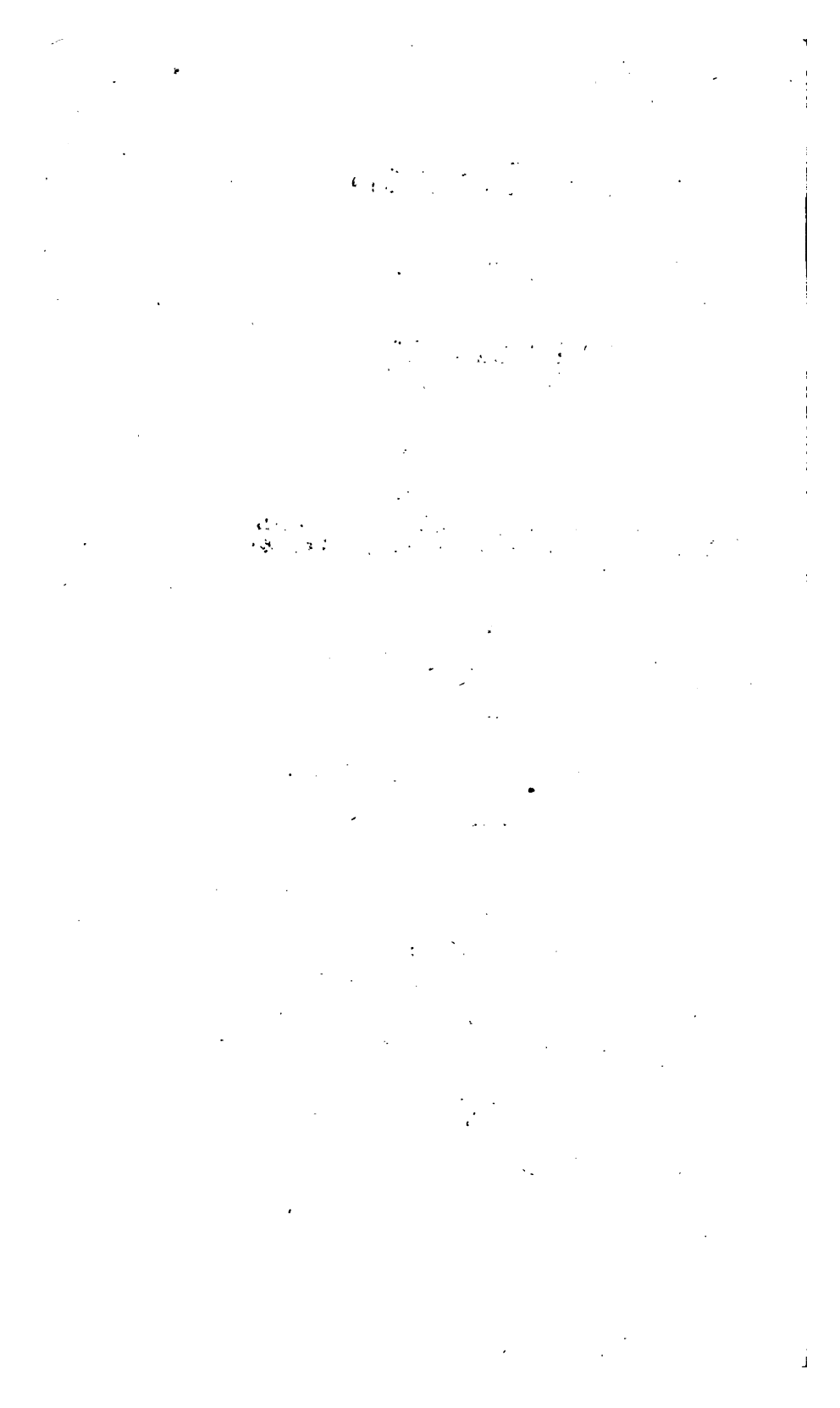
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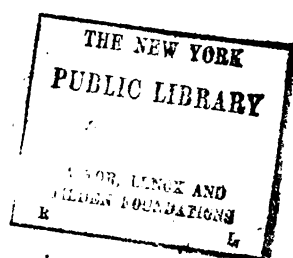
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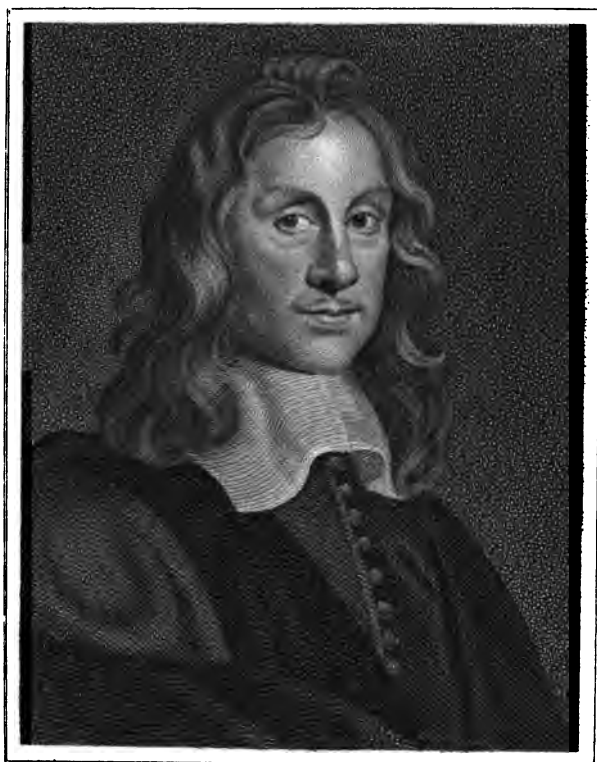
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Sir P. Lely pinx.

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Sir Philip Warwick.

MEMOIRES

Of the Reign of
King CHARLES I.

CONTAINING

The most remarkable Occurrences of that Reign, and setting many Secret Passages thereof in a clear Light. With Impartial Characters of many Great Persons, on both Sides, who chiefly governed the Counsels and Actions of that Scene of Affairs.

Together with
A Continuation to the Happy
Restauration of
King CHARLES II.

BY
Sir Philip Warwick, Knight.

Published from the Original Manuscript,

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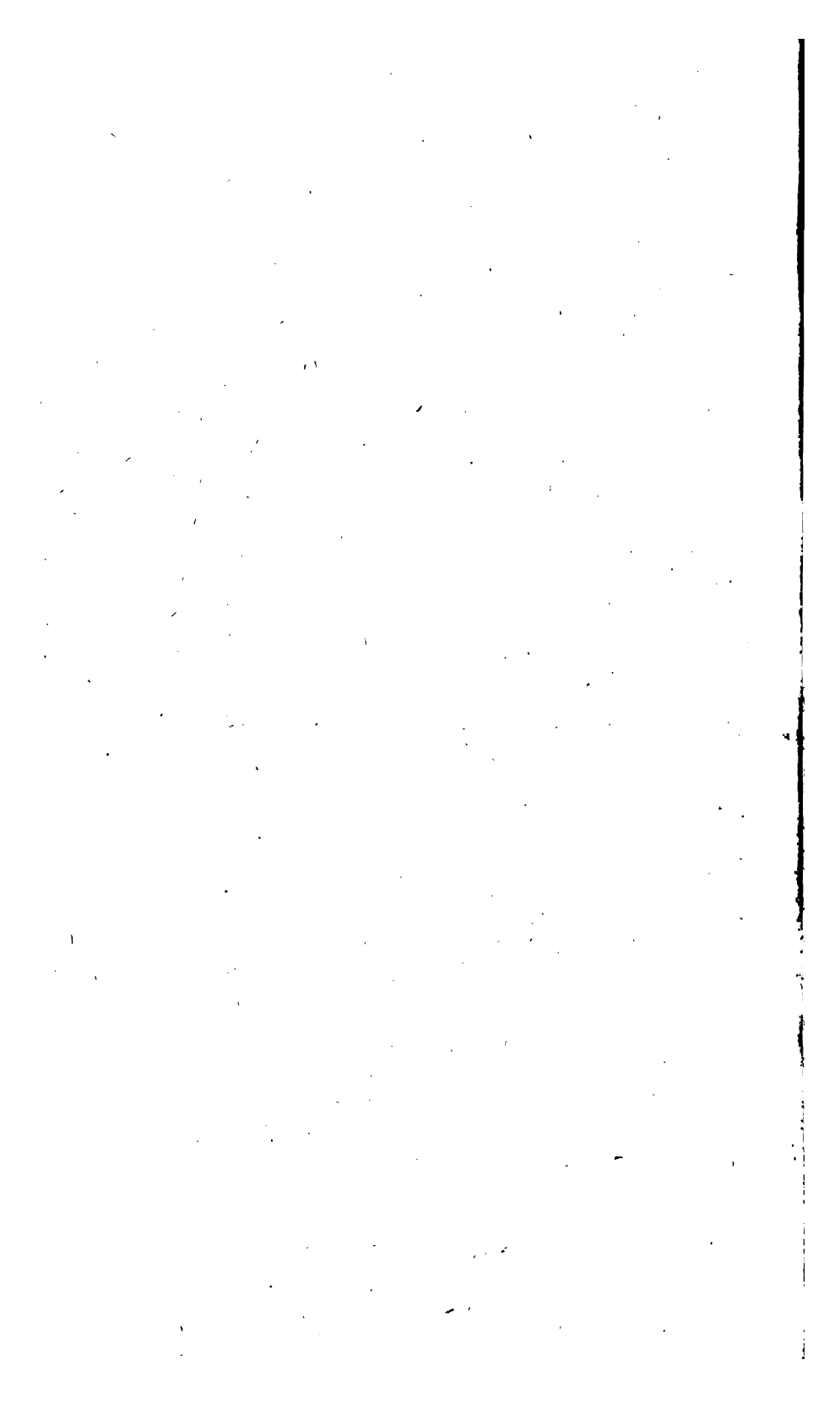
L O N D O N,
Printed for B. Chiswell, in St. Paul's Church-yard,
And to be sold by John Pero, at the Swan in Little
Brittain. 1702.



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Portrait of Sir Philip Warwick to face the second Title.

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INTRODUCTION.

SIR PHILIP WARWICK was the son of Thomas Warwick, organist of St Peter's, Westminster, and was for some time a chorister in that church. He received a liberal education, being bred at Eton, and finishing his studies at Geneva, under the care of the celebrated Diodati, well known by his scriptural commentaries. Upon his return to England, Warwick was early distinguished by the favour of one of the best men of that un-

happy period, Francis Wriothesly, Earl of Southampton, and he acted as secretary to the Treasury, when that excellent nobleman held the office of treasurer. During the time that he held this post, he used to be called "Sir Philip the Treasurer," by those who wished to insinuate that the good order introduced into the office was rather to be ascribed to him than to his patron, Southampton. As Southampton, during the civil wars, was employed in seven public messages, and three treaties, between the king and parliament, Sir Philip Warwick, who adhered to his fortunes on all occasions, had unusual opportunities of collecting the information which he has embodied in his Memoirs. His integrity has never been doubted, and, when allowance is made for the situation in which he was placed, his prejudices appear to have been fewer and less virulent than could reasonably have been expected. Few books

have been more confidently quoted by historians as a source of authentic information, and few contemporary works afford so dispassionate a view of the stormy period in which the author lived. Sir Philip Warwick died upon 25th January, 1682.

These Memoirs were first published by the learned Dr Thomas Smith, a non-juring divine, distinguished by his oriental learning, and his writings concerning the Greek church. The learned editor added a preface, so much marked by his political principles, that he was compelled to alter and retrench it for fear of a prosecution at the instance of the crown. It is remarkable, that among the books edited by Dr Smith, of which there is a list in the *Biographia Britannica* under his article, the Memoirs of Sir Philip Warwick are omitted. The public are now supplied with a new edition of this authentic and curious book,

in which are preserved more personal anecdotes of interesting characters during the civil wars, than in any other work of the period.

Original Preface.

TO

THE READER.

THESE Memoirs were written by a gentleman of great integrity and wisdom, who, by means of his stations and employments under King Charles the First, of blessed memory, and near attendance on his person, had great opportunities of knowing the most considerable occurrences of those times, with the secret springs by which they moved: as also the characters of the persons that were most concerned and active in them.

And as the vindicating of the cause and actions of his royal master and his friends, and to do right to truth, were the great inducements to his writing these remarks, so to rectify mistakes, and rescue the memory of that injured prince from the false imputations and indignities that have been cast upon him by prejudiced and malicious men, is the cause of this publication.

More is not needful to be said, than to assure the world that these papers are genuine, and published from the author's original manuscripts by a faithful friend, with whom they were intrusted. Except I may have leave to add, that as the author wrote with freedom, according to his genius and his principles, so it is hoped he will be read with candour and just allowances by all gentlemen of what sentiments soever.

MEMOIRS
OF THE
REIGN OF KING CHARLES I.

ON March 25, 1625, King James died, and his only son, Charles the First, was immediately proclaimed king ; a prince of a most excellent temper, and strength of understanding, and regularity of affections, having no transports unto any vice, but endowed with habits of knowledge and piety, and so unapt to have made any invasion upon the liberty or property of his subjects, but as some early rude attacks of a popular faction seemed to force him to defend his sovereignty.

K. Charles I. his accession to the throne.

Wherever the prince is not jealous of underminers, and active to maintain the established government, there will never want spirits given to change who will attempt it, and make religion their shelter for rebellion. And thus even vigilant Queen Elizabeth was troubled with her gos-

The management of government with regard to the several factions in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and

pellers, upon pretence of a more refined purity. These men soon drew over to themselves, or party, many of the wealthy and trading citizens, generally in the corporations, and from thence crept into the neighbouring countries, and infected many of the yeomanry and gentry: and not long after broached principles, which served to lessen sovereign and civil authority, and a pulse was raised towards an aristocratical government, under a kingly title; which this wise queen was soon alarmed with, and opposed their ecclesiastical encroachments with her new-erected court of high commission; and she so asserted her prerogative in the House of Commons, that, in the 35th year of her reign, as she stood in need of such a resolution, so she shewed it, that she kept all in due temper; and when dissenters, who had separated from Rome, grew as dangerous to the government as the Romanists, how remote soever they were one from another in opinion, she involved them both under one title of Recusants; and her commoners made little impression on her sovereignty.

of King
James.

King James laboured under the same difficulties, but his watchfulness (or use of the reins of government) was not equal with hers. His favourites were more countenanced than his statesmen, and his statesmen permitted his favourite countrymen to make a harvest in the crown revenue, where the English gleaners carried off al-

most as much corn as the authorised cart. This prince's reign was peaceable and pleasurable : his conference with the learned protestant dissenters, (according to the present new phrase,) shewed his great learning in overthrowing their arguments, and in gaining from them some promises (too soon forgot by them) of a better conformity ; and his great wisdom in not only approving, but maintaining both the doctrine and discipline of the church of England, made him appear a great divine. And he made as rational and truly politic speeches of the nature of government, and of the good temper of the English monarchy, as most tongues or pens could express ; but, to be short, the practical part was wanting : and in the latter end of his reign, having a most strong affection to marry his only son to the Infanta of Spain, which was cross-gained generally unto the inclination of the people of England, the ecclesiastic and civil moles cast up so many loose and black suspicions, that he was thought no good protestant that did not think that protestantism was not like to be undermined. And this prince having at this

¹ The character of a monarch, whose energy wasted itself in speeches and apothegms, without any practical effects, was more concisely, though less courteously drawn, by the ambassador who reported to the court of France, that James was the wisest fool in Christendom.

time a young favourite, Sir George Villiers, of a noble family, and a gentleman of a generous mind and great courage, and a most manly and comely person, whom he had raised unto the high title of the Duke of Buckingham, and to whose conduct the prince himself, in his journey into Spain, was entrusted, there was great liberty of censure, and consequently of dissatisfaction; and the disaffected had no apprehensions of danger by their free talking, so as every man discoursed as if they had been under no restraints of authority, and the ill-willers unto the established government multiplied their numbers, and fixed their roots daily deeper. Yet, the prince being returned out of Spain, where he had given great evidences how well instructed and how firm he was in his own religion, the favourite both of king and prince became a kind of favourite unto the two houses of parliament; and all persons concurred in an ill-advised and popular-humoured war with Spain.*

The state
of the court
upon King
Charles's
accession
to the
crown.

In this ill conjuncture, this pacific prince, King James, departed this life; and the favourite having a great ascendant on his new master, with

* By breaking off the Spanish match, Buckingham, though he only indulged his own ill-humour and dislike to Olivarez, the minister of that kingdom, acquired a short-lived and mis-used popularity with the English nation, who abhorred the thoughts of an union with Spain.

this excess of favour and fortune, and laden with plenty of crown revenue, and offices of the best value, and of highest and most public concern, it is no marvel that the ancient nobility of both kingdoms, who were at court, as the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, and Marquis Hamilton, (who drew with them the Scotch party,) and the Earl of Pembroke and his brother Montgomery, Salisbury, and others, (who were followed by the English,) brought a great distemper of humours in court, and that distilled itself soon into the veins of the country, and thus a displeasure to the favourite soon lessened the duty and reverence which was due to the prince. Thus the factions of a court always feed the peccant humours of the city and country ; so as commonly the throne is most endangered by those whose obligation it is to uphold it, and who most commonly suffer with it.

With this sour humour in the stomach of the nation, this most excellent prince, in himself and in his own disposition, ascended the throne ; and now all men were grown great divines and statesmen, and the multitude were to judge how a prince, that by the municipal laws was limited in some one part of his authority, (though nobody could do the same thing without him, but had only an interest to consent with him and for him) could be reputed sovereign : and how a church could be truly apostolic, and yet at liberty to

hind men to her rules of order and decency, which were not practised by the apostles ; which was very offensive unto tender consciences. Now they have in a great measure unpinned the firmness of the government, who can call in the many to determine disputes of this nature. And thus we see how all became unhinged.

The king's marriage with the Lady Henrietta Maria, sister of the French king.

Weighing anchor in this foul weather, the king began his voyage. The first thing he did was to call a parliament, which he appointed to meet the 18th of June following, 1625. Before that could meet he sent away the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Carlisle, and the Earl of Holland, unto the French court, as his ambassadors, and by his proxy, which was given to the Duke of Chevereux, his espousals were celebrated by Cardinal Richelieu, with the sister of the king of France, the Lady Henrietta Maria, a lady of an excellent air, and beauty of countenance and liveliness of mind ; who was soon brought over by his ambassadors, and for whom staying some little time at Canterbury, and she landing at Dover, they met on those downs which from Canterbury are a good part of the way. His majesty soon brought her up to London, where the plague extremely raging, the glory and joy of the court was lessened, nevertheless it was very splendid.

The division of his reign into several parts.

The troubles and uncomfortableness almost of his whole reign we may divide into these stages :

1. What befell him during the short time of life after this, of the Duke of Buckingham, or in his three parliaments; the first whereof began in 1625, and the last ended in March 1628.

2. What difficulties he struggled with to support the government from this year, 1628, unto the year 1637, when the Scots began their first commotions, which improved itself soon into a downright rebellion: and in all this time in how firm a posture and esteem the king's affairs stood among the neighbouring princes, and in how peaceable and plentiful a condition the subject was at home.

3. What brought on the two parliaments, both begun in the year 1640; one in April, the other in November following.

4. The irreconcilable and never-to-be-satisfied appetite, unto a change in government in the Long Parliament, (as they used to call it,) begun in November, 1640.

5. Of the war begun 1642, and the successes of it betwixt that and 1648, when this good prince was most barbarously and traiterously murdered by his own subjects.

6. Of the disasters which befel his disloyal lords and commons, by the defection against them of their own army: of their erecting their idol, Cromwell, as the Protector of England, and of his prosperity against rebellious England and

Ireland : of the traverses he met with from his own army, and of his discomposed death, and laying aside his son and successor in his protectorship, Richard, and the tame and heartless being laid aside of his son Henry, in Ireland : and of the various and confused changes in the army, till, blasted by God, all the usurpations ended in the happy restitution of our present gracious King Charles II.

Observations arising from the several facts and events of his reign.

The observations that shall be made on the several reflections that shall be here put down are these :

How little the best princes can think themselves secure, if some leading men in their own courts fall into faction, and infect those out of their verge, and spread jealousies and nourish distastes, and stop it not till it poison the populace or multitude.

How apt a people are to be led blind-fold by the representatives which they choose themselves, rather than to be guided by their prince, whom the law, as well as sound reason, declares their true representative.

How dangerous a few subtle heads are to an established government, when they are backed by the many hands of a multitude.

How insecure those prime designing heads are, when the numerous hands find that they have misemployed them.

How fatal the several changes were to every sect of innovators.

The degenerous nobility being degenerated and made useless by the commons, to whom they had been as servile as they were haughty towards their prince.

The commons as much lorded over by their own army as they had lorded it over the lords.

The army as refractory to their leaders as their leaders had been to those who gave them their commission.

The two confederating kingdoms of England and Scotland, so little observing their strict covenant and tie, that the one became a prey, or was reduced into a province unto the other ; and the third as miserably treated as they had butcherly and barbarously surprised and treated those of the English.

The episcopal clergy saw the law of retaliation exercised on the presbyterian by the fanatic, and the presbyterian saw the fanatic brought in to as great a distraction by themselves as they had brought on all the rest.

Here we shall find a gracious and a serious prince, by diversity of counsels, drawn off from his own judgment ; one while making unhappy denials, and at another more unhappy condescensions. But Providence at last so owned his cause, and Time so vindicated his honour, that never prince was more truly lamented, nor his

posterity, by divine blessing, more wonderfully re-established.

His first
parliament.

The 18th of June being come, the parliament met, Sir Thomas Carew being chosen speaker; after the king had made a gracious speech, (to do them right) they frankly gave him two subsidies of the laity, voting the papists to pay double; and the clergy gave him three subsidies for themselves. But a little leaven was in the lump; for the commons presented him the bill of tonnage and poundage but for a year, which had formerly (most usually) been given for the life of the prince, especially from Henry the VII. his time. And the reason I conceive of this caution or limitation was, because that King James, besides the customs which were rated but low, yet ever generally rated by the king, had raised some new impositions on several imported and exported commodities, which prerogative was esteemed a just and necessary flower of the crown; because the rate upon merchandize cannot well be steadily set, in regard foreign princes can impose in their countries what rate they please upon our imported commodities among them, and therefore in all nations such rates on foreign commodities, from time to time, are varied by every prince, that they may be balanced and hold proportion unto foreign duties on their own commodities; and Queen Elizabeth had done the same on currants, &c. The

The bill of
tonnage
and pound-
age.

lords, not satisfied with the limitations of this bill, passed it not ; probably foreseeing that the king was not like to assent thereunto.

The plague made it necessary to adjourn this parliament, and they were to meet at Oxford the first of August following, where, inauspiciously, they did ; for by this time Buckingham's greatness was perceived, and highly envied at court, as well as in the country ; and he, who not long before had been a favourite of a parliament for breaking the Spanish match, is now the mark they shoot their displeasure at. And at Oxford the parliament is eager in the laying open of grievances, and principally in laying the cause or occasion of them on Buckingham ; of which the king being impatient, since (unless they had been pre-disposed too much to make misrepresentations) the few months of his reign could not be obnoxious to such a charge ; and likewise being angry to be ill characterized to his people, he resolved to put an end to this sitting ; and sending down the black-rod to call up the commons unto the lords-house, in order to their dissolution, they being then resolved into a grand committee, and having some inkling of what was determined, when the black-rod knocked at the door with his staff, (which is the usual manner and voice of authority to be presently admitted the men of the tribunitial spirit, (for God be thanked we have no such officers among us,

Adjourned
to Oxford.

though we have orators) would not let the speaker, Sir Thomas Carew, take the chair to admit the king's messenger, until one Mr Glanvill, an eminent lawyer, and of a warm temper, had framed a protestation that his majesty might have thanks for his gracious answer to their petition for religion, and for his care of their healths, in giving them leave to depart this dangerous sickness-time ; professing their loyalty and their readiness to supply his majesty, in a parliamentary way, in a fitting and convenient time, which was a wild and tumultuous essay to be made at a committee, which had no authority to treat of any such thing. Besides, whenever the king sends his black-rod, the house, much more a committee, is immediately to break off their discourse, though they be in the middle of it ; so as this action expressed much fervour, but no prudence ; and, therefore, going up to attend the king's commission in this heat and disorder, it served only to justify his majesty's resolution of dissolving them, which was done on the 12th of August, 1625, as soon as they came up to the House of Lords. So abruptly and tumultuously ended this first parliament. This, on all hands, turned much to the disreputation of the nation abroad ; for foreigners saw how little the king could do without his parliament, and how little the parliament was like to do for him ; and therefore, Spain and the emperor perceived lit-

Dissolved.

the danger in that disposal which they had made of the Palsgrave, the king's brother-in-law, his countries; and France and Holland knew if the king would pursue a Spanish war, he must truckle under them.

The Duke of Buckingham's greatness in King James's time hath been described in that king's reign, whereof some memoirs have been made;^{*} and how, by breaking off the match with Spain, and bringing the prince, now king, home safe, he became a favourite in parliament: but he managing his glory to the eclipse of the other great men, it was ill brooked that he should be found favourite both to father and son. His want of experience, as having never seen the reverse of fortune, made him too great an enterpriser to succeed in what he unadvisedly undertook; for besides moulding this court to the advantage principally of his own family, the females whereof he numerously dispersed into the noblest families of the nobility, thinking thereby to strengthen himself, instead of judiciously mollifying the misunderstandings betwixt the two houses and the king, he unadvisedly (for in Spain he had received personal affronts upon some amours he had made,) runs the king into a war with that nation; which though begun in the last king's time, he knew the present king's treasure could

The Duke
of Buck-
ingham's
greatness.

^{*} See Secret Memoirs of the Reign of James I., Edin. 1811, 2 vols. 8vo.

The expedition against Cadiz.

not discharge, and thereupon a considerable navy, with good store of land forces, are employed in a design to surprise Cadiz, (at least to burn the ships in that harbour,) and, if possibly they could, to meet with the Spanish Plate fleet; but though there was good courage shewed, there was not good conduct, so they failed of the former, and met not with the latter; and upon the return the generals laid the blame one on the other, so inauspicious was the first war as well as first parliament.

A loan.

The second parliament.

The factions at court, and in the two houses of parliament.

And now, to pay the ships and men off, the duke's confidants and counsellors had proposed an attempt which usually breeds more discontent, than yields fruit, of sending to rich men letter of privy seal for a loan. But this course was very impolitic, for a necessity there was of calling a new parliament, and it was summoned to meet the February following, 1625.

Here it was soon perceived how numerous and considerable the ill-willers to Buckingham's greatness were at court, so as the popular lords in the upper house, such as have been named before, together with Essex, Say, Sheffield, now Mulgrave, &c. and the great orators in the House of Commons, such as Diggs, Sandys, Hollis, Selden, and Elliot, drawing their reflective heat from the other great luminaries, made this session more unfortunate than the former parliament. And to shew with what metal their arrows were head-

ed, and what bellows blew this fire, an inconsiderate, as well as inconsiderable court-dependant, and one familiar with and usually divertising the court lords, Dr Turner, a physician, brought into the parliament, queries (a new-fashion charge) against the Duke of Buckingham, and we have lived to see that species of charging men much improved ; for it hath been admitted in the House of Commons for a member to say, " I will charge such a great man, being of the king's council, for having divulged the king's council ; or, I will produce one that will charge him therewith ;" but when in that case it was replied, " All junto-counsellors must with foreign ministers divulge princes' counsels, or else there could be no accommodation or peace, in times or points of difference," and that that word, " divulge," would bear no legal charge unless " betray" were added to it, in a heat that article passed ; though the person who brought in the article first did not at the last reading confirm it with the additional word, " betray." Queries, therefore, are rather to be expounded, as trailing for a hare, not having found her, than pursuing her, having found her. But the queries were these :

I. Whether the king had not lost the regality of the seas during Buckingham's being admiral?

II. Whether the late ill successes of the fleet had not happened by the admiral's having not personally executed his place?

Dr Turner's queries.

III. Whether the duke had not engrossed all great offices into his disposal, and preferred there-to his own unfit kindred?

IV. Whether he had not sold places of judicature, &c.

V. Whether his mother was not patroness of the popish party?

VI. Whether immense liberality had not wasted the king's treasure?

Mr Cook's
scandalous
invectives.

These were so exaggerated, that a sulphureous vapour flew from an unadvised mouth of Mr Clement Cook, who invectively said, "'Twas better to die by a foreign enemy, than to be destroyed at home." The wettest and greenest wood would have taken fire at these flames; and so the king complains to the houses both of Turner and Cook, and receives civil, but unsatisfactory answers.

Earl of
Bristol.

And, to pour new oil into this flame, the Earl of Bristol, the late ambassador in Spain, pursues Buckingham, and they both charge one another with treason. The king's counsel at law would have pursued Bristol by indictment: but the lords' house favouring him, and possessed of his articles, would not let it be carried unto the common law, until they had heard so much of it as they might judge it fit to be remitted thither. And the commons thought it fit for them likewise to accuse the Duke of Buckingham, by thirteen articles; but he made such a calm and sub-

missive reply, shewing, that what they principally charged him with was done in the last king's time, and that the general pardon since had acquitted him thereof, (saying, he laid hold of it,) that, in some measure it sweetened them for the present towards him. In this parliament they resolved to give the king, by bill, three subsidies; but withal determined not to proceed therein, (though the foreign engagements would admit no delays) but as the impeachment intended against the duke, and other grievances were to accompany it; and therefore the king, dissatisfied, resolved to dissolve them, which was done the 15th of June, 1626.

Second
parliament
dissolved.

And now affairs being thus in disorder, and persons in passion, it cannot be expected that counsels should be very sound or well weighed; necessities corrupting the judgment, and dangers making men lay hold of that to sustain them, which is either too weak to do it, or too thorny for them long to grasp; and accordingly an advice was taken to raise a sum by way of loan, equal unto three subsidies which that parliament had voted and agreed on, but not carried up the act; and for this resolution there was a very equitable pretence, since his majesty was then in action, and engaged in a war, advised by a parliament, and, for support of the continuing charge thereof, had anticipated his own reve-

The three
subsidies
endeavour-
ed by way
of loan to
be levied.

nue very deeply. In such conjunctures, where there are seeming reasons on both sides, each side gains some party to own him ; but in such disputes the highest authority hath most commonly the worst end of the staff, for few can discern the just provocations given to a prince, or his ill usage ; but all can resolve this, that their liberty of not being taxed without their representatives' consent, is due unto them, and their keeping their money in their purse, (though it endanger all the rest) is an advantageous thing. Hence all were divided, or unto some this course seemed reasonable, unto others infirm and specious. Many therefore cheerfully lent ; others, and those eminent parliament men, refused, and had recourse to the law for their defence, and being restrained, sued out their habeas corpusses, and yet were remanded back, which ministered occasion of great complaints in the next parliament.

The French
deceive
both Hol-
land and
England.

Within this time, as if fate had hurried us on unto somewhat which was to be dismal, and our crafty neighbours, France and Holland being both now in a war with Spain, as well as England was, France pretending a great design of seizing the passages in the Valteline, to intercept the Spaniard's intercourse between Italy and Germany, (by which way the emperor had still new forces from the Spaniard,) proposed unto the Hollander to join with them in making up a

good fleet to invest and straiten Genoa, the place which Spain made its great bank of money and credit. And though they knew England in her disputing state was able to do little, yet craftily upon very moderate terms they invited her into this confederacy; so as the King of England, for countenance sake, was only to lend one ship of his own royal navy, and to furnish and equip six merchant-men, which afterwards should be wholly in the French pay. But the deep-sighted statesman, Cardinal Richelieu, made a clean other use of this assistance; for the French protestants being at this time hardly dealt with, and many of their concessions and privileges anciently granted to them, in relation unto the exercise of their religion, according unto the calvinistical reformation, being denied them, they too apt to be discontented, and too forward to set up themselves as an independent body (in point of religion at least) in that state, and the Duke of Rohan, a very learned and wise statesman, and a great captain, with his brother Soubize, a gentleman of great though inferior parts, being with other heads of this party, Soubize at this time flew out, and being backed by that strong town Rochel, having got a small naval force, he made havoc not only of the isles of Rhe and Oleron, strong and important places, and of great concern unto the French crown and its revenue, as full of salt-pits, salt being monopolized in that king's hand,

The war in France, between that king and his discontented Hugonot subjects.

and one of the fairest flowers of that crown's revenue, but likewise seized on several of his own king's ships lying in those parts in harbour; a sufficient evidence that the French navy was not at that time very considerable. It stood in need, therefore, of such a master-stroke as this of the cardinal's, who diverted (perchance that which was never designed) the French, Holland, and English ships, given out for Genoa, and immediately employed them against Soubize; so as this fleet by sea, and the Duke of Guise by land, soon crushed all Soubize's successes, and Rochell, the chiefest strength and asylum of the oppressed or discontented Hugonot, was blocked up.

How King Charles came to be concerned in it.

Our king, impatient of the misemploying his shipping against those of the religion in France, and we alledging that the French king had admitted the English as a guarantee for preserving the ancient liberties of those of the religion, and Buckingham himself being at that time highly disobliged by Richelieu, who had excepted to his coming over ambassador upon some jealousy in that court of an amour of a high nature,¹ we ran into a new and precipitate war; and so were engaged against the two great monarchs, even at that time when our own monarchical government seemed to be in dispute at home.

¹ It was supposed that Buckingham had the presumption to make love to the Queen of France.

This made it high time for the king to think of calling a new parliament, and it was summoned to meet on the 17th of March, 1627, where Sir John Finch was chosen speaker.

The third
parliament

But here the House of Commons trod in their former steps, and where they left off they seemed to begin, and to make their proceedings the more solemn, (for by this time the non-conforming clergy were to be the trumpets of a dissatisfied laity,) the first thing they pray is, that they might hold a fast; and what spirit this would beget through the whole nation, he that then durst have conjectured would have been thought to have been of an ill spirit, unless others had lived to have felt the ill effects of it, in the Long Parliament in 1640. For, as nothing is more probable to avert God's judgments, than true humiliation and piety, so nothing is more displeasing to God, or breeds worse tempers in men, than when they fast for strife, or in order to cry up a party.

But, before we enter upon their actions, we shall give some account of his majesty's great preparations, and falling upon that great action of invading the Isle of Rhe, which the Duke of Buckingham, high admiral, with ten ships royal, and ninety merchant-men, with a body of 6000 horse and foot, set sail for in the month of June: and though Rhe was not his first design, yet here he fixes, and having been long expected in those

The expedition
against the
isle of
Rhe.

parts, Monsieur Toyras, governor of that isle, an old and well-experienced soldier, had in readiness such a force as probably would have made the English descent very hazardous and dangerous. But the duke, a gentleman of a clear courage, and his intrepid soldiers, (which epithet their unfortunate retreat, as well as glorious descent, made good) forced their way, and acted all things suitable to the honour of their nation.

Ill conduct
in the ma-
nagement
of it.

And thus being landed, they drive Mr Toyras and his men from the shore, up into the land into St Martin's Castle, the chief strength of that island. But here was a great error committed, and a wilful, as it was said, on the general's part; for, contrary to the advice of his commanders, he took not in a lesser castle upon the coast, which would have secured his own retreat, and the landing of any of his provisions, and hindered the French from bringing in fresh supplies, either of men or provision. Besides, the pursuit after Toyras was not made so quick, but that two or three days being lost, that old soldier made his fortifications much more difficult to be taken in; one would think that these neglect ought to be attributed more to the old English commanders, Sir John Burroughs, Sir William Courtney, and the rest, than unto the unexperienced general, who surely, had they been as resolute as they ought, he would not have been so

obstinate as he was to prefer his own bent before their experience.

But thus it was, and one error succeeds another; for Toyras, a crafty fox, manages his part towards the duke courtlily, as well as soldierly; for after some time that the English had pressed him close, repelled his sallies, which were made and entertained with equal courage, and reduced him to great necessity, he craftily began a treaty about surrender, and spun out some time with the openness and deceits of courtship; which pleasing the duke's humour, lost him some advantages, but gained Toyras his point; for he stayed but to see the success of an intended relief to be sent him, of some provisions and some men, which, not long after, by some experienced pilots, who well knew the depths, and shelves, and creeks of that shore, was effected; and then the duke found the burden of his first omission in not taking in the lesser fort, and the ruinous state he should leave Rochel in, from whence he had borrowed much of their provisions, and from which garrison he was supplied with at least 500 men, neither of which he could repay; the Earl of Holland not coming with those supplies from England which were promised, so as the duke finding a necessity of his retreat, made it with great courage, but with great loss; and, as I have understood by men of good knowledge in that

The policy of Toyras, the French governor.

The Duke of Buckingham's forced retreat.

affair, not without some ill conduct in his retreat, as well as in his first advances.

How managed.

For, being to retreat upon narrow causeways, by reason of the salt-pans and low grounds, he brought off his men under the protection of horse, who had no room to fight, and who, once routed, must necessarily route their own foot, which happened accordingly, and made the slaughter great, which otherwise probably would have been little, and so the retreat creditable, though not glorious.*

* The following minute account of this unfortunate attempt, and of the causes of its failure, occur in a letter from Denzel Hollis to Sir Thomas Wentworth, (afterwards Earl of Strafford) :—

“ For the particulars of this most shameful deroute upon their retreat, which is or will be in every body’s mouth, I doubt not but you know as well, or better, than myself. For the action in general, one of themselves, who, for his sincerity and understanding, I may term also a prophet of their own, has given me this censure of it,—that it was ill begun, worse ordered in every particular, and the success accordingly most lamentable : Nothing but discontents between the general and the most understanding of his soldiers, as Burroughs, Courtney, Spry ; every thing done against the hair, and attempted without probability of success, and there was no hopes of mastering the place from the very beginning, especially since Michaelmas ; that a very great supply came at one time into the fort ; and that since they relieved it at their pleasure. Yet, for all this, the duke would stay and would not stay, doing things by halves : for had he done either and gone through with it, pos-

In this very action, three persons, who lost much of their honour, were employed, who all lived to make improsperous his majesty's last

Censure of several employed in this expedition.

sibly it could not have been so ill as it is ; for he removed his ordnance and shipped it a month almost before he raised the siege, yet still kept his army there, fit neither for offence nor defence ; and at the last, the Saturday before the unfortunate Monday, he came away, would needs give a general assault, where many good men were lost, when there was no ordnance to protect them going on or coming off. *Et qualis vita, finis ita*, as they behaved themselves while they were there, so did they at their coming away : for though they knew two thousand French landed that morning in the island, and there was at least three thousand in the two forts, the great one and the little one (of which by the way we never heard ; but they thought it not fit we should know all perhaps, because they knew secrecy an essential part of war policy) so as they could not but expect to be a little troubled with them in their marching, yet made they no provision to secure themselves : For being to pass by a narrow causey, (where more than six or eight could not go in front, and which a very small number might have made good against a million) and so by a bridge over a little passage into an island as it were, where being once they would be safe, there was no order taken for viewing or preparing the way, that when they came to it there was no passage over ; so that their stay gave a great deal of time and opportunity to the enemy, who all the time followed them at the heels so close, that my lord duke himself, who, I know not by what misfortune he was in the rear, was like to have been snapped, if he had not presently made way through the troops upon the narrow causey : and had he, the general, miscarried, what might have become think you, of the whole army, like a body without a head, or a flock without a shepherd ? But he

condition, as they had made inglorious his first enterprize : for here in England the Earl of Holland trifled away the time, in which he should have brought new supplies of men, victuals, and shipping unto the duke, and was found in harbour at Plymouth, when he should have been

carefully got himself on shipboard that night, to prevent the worst, and to order boats for the shipping of the army ; but the French falling upon their rear, killed and took prisoners as they would themselves, helped by our own horse, who, to save themselves (which yet they could not do) broke in, rode over our men, and put all into disorder, which made way for the slaughter ; but it seems no resistance at all was made, but they even disbanded, and shifted every one for himself, there being no word of command given for the making them face about for repulsing of the enemy ; for then it must needs have gone from hand to hand through the whole troops ; and a serjeant-major that was in the rear has protested to me that they did not so much as know that any thing had been done till afterward a pretty while ; and it had been the easiest thing in the world, in that narrow place, to have beaten back the enemy had they been never so many, or at least to have defended themselves. But the disorder and confusion was so great, the truth is, no man can tell what was done, nor no account can be given how any man was lost, not the lieutenant-colonel how his colonel, or lieutenant how his captain, or any one knows how another was lost ; which is a sign that things were ill carried. This only every man knows, that since England was England it received not so dishonourable a blow : Four colonels lost ; thirty-two colours in the enemy's possession (but more lost ;) God knows how many men slain ; they say not above two thousand of our side, and I think not one of the enemies."—STRAFFORD'S *Letters*, vol. I. p. 41.

found a month before in the bay at Rochel ; and here his brother Montjoy, afterward Earl of Newport, and the Lord Conway, (then Sir Edward,) who with the horse were to make the retreat, (to say no more) fell under great suspicion. And what they did in the last actions of his majesty's life, the following sheets will shew ; and they will shew also how improvident it is to make use of trifling men, though in good station, twice in one prince's reign ; for though in the hazards of war ill success may attend the most loyal and experienced men, and their conduct of their extremity may make them the fitter to be re-employed, yet, where such an eminency is not, there a state is much wanting to itself which a second time owns such persons. But Holland's being great on the queen's side, it secured his brother Montjoy's infirmities, (we may say his after infidelities,) and whether we may give a softer word unto the Lord Conway's last engagement in the Scotch war,¹ I will not determine ; though I am sure I am willing to do it, as having had some relation in blood, and some personal obligation unto his father, whilst secretary of state. But his re-admission was, by being a confidant of the Earl of Northumberland's. So dangerous a thing.

¹ Lord Conway commanded at the skirmish of Newburn, where the English cavalry shamefully retreated, or rather fled, before a much inferior number of Scots.

it is to princes to have the least hand in the choice, even of the subordinate ministers, in civil, military, or ecclesiastical affairs.

Discon-
tent in par-
liament.

But affairs being thus improsperous, it is no marvel that a House of Commons, a popular council, or a House of Lords, most commonly invidious towards favourites, looked upon all these things (as well they might) with an ill eye, and rather sharpened their own spirits, than sweetened their prince's, by private condolences, and endeavours to withdraw him from making use upon affection of improper instruments to his designs. Hence it was too probable, that the House of Commons, upon their first meeting, cast their eye more upon their grievances than the joining their counsels towards the promoting the king's foreign engagements; and so they complain of billeting soldiers, of loans by benevolences, and upon privy seals, and of imprisoning refusers; and being demanded supplies upon the king's occasions, they say, that by the former proceedings with them, they were uncertain whether they had any thing of their own to give. Thus easy it is through a multiplying glass to make small things great, or, by following a climax, to make the loss of the nail of the general's horse-shoe the losing his horse, and consequently himself, and consequently the battle, and consequently the nation; for their expressions were, "That now, like the Roman slaves, this was the

annual day wherein they had liberty to utter, what all the year before they had suffered." But rhetoric is no vulnerary herb. The king with a milder temper receives their complaints, and professes, that he had neither averseness or intention to keep himself at distance with them; and that he desired nothing more but that their business and his might go on hand in hand.

Upon which they brought in their petition of right, and they voted to have a bill brought in for five subsidies, which the king gave hearty thanks for: the petition was proceeded on, but not the subsidies; and it was prefaced in these words following:

The petition of right.

"We humbly present this petition to your majesty, not only with a care for preservation of our liberties, but with a due regard to leave entire that sovereign power wherewith your majesty is trusted, for the protection, safety, and happiness of your people." The king, at first, thought a general answer might have satisfied, and so gave this following:

"That he willed that right be done according to the laws and custom of the realm, and that the statutes be put in due execution, that the subjects may have no cause to complain of any wrong or oppressions contrary to their just rights and liberties; to the preservation whereof he holds himself in conscience as well obliged as to the maintenance of his prerogative." But this being

The king's gracious answer at first, and afterwards.

Fuller con-
descension.

not satisfactory, and debates growing upon it, the king to quiet all, told them, that he would give them an answer that should fully please them ; and so coming to the House of Lords, he causes the clerk in his presence to read that most comprehensive answer, *Soit droit fait, comme il est désiré*. And after this his majesty assured them that his maxim was, that " the people's liberties served to strengthen the king's prerogative, and the king's prerogative to defend the people's liberties ; and now, (says he,) if this parliament have not a happy conclusion, the sin is yours, and I am free from it." But, notwithstanding all this, a noble gentleman, an eminent parliament man, who paid dear for it in 1640, being then a great royalist, said, " Let us perfect our remonstrance ; for King James was wont to say, he knew that by parliament which otherwise he could never have known : " and in the remonstrance they had declared the duke the foundation of all their grievances ; and this following such a gracious concession, as his majesty had made in his answer to the petition of right, and his majesty likewise finding that they were turning his weapon upon his own breast, for they pretended that his answer to their petition of right, (though there was not the least mention of it through the whole debate in either house,) had excluded him from the receipt of his customs, which irritated him very much. Had they at

the same time freely presented him with a bill for the receipt thereof, because taken away, this might have expressed that they meant no surprisal; but the other way of proceeding seemed to him so disingenuous, that he would not brook it.

Nor, indeed, could they be brought to brook the duke, whom they knew formerly had employed Sir William Balfour, a Scotch commander; and Colonel Dolbeir, a German, to raise in foreign parts 1000 horse for this king's service, and to transport them into England. This, like the Israelites worshipping the golden calf, may too probably have been an ingredient in all future distresses.

Discontents raised and fomented in the House of Commons against the duke.

However, the duke, upon his return from Rhe, proceeds in equipping out a new considerable navy, with considerable land forces, to relieve Rochel, which that universal man Richelieu, (for he was clergyman, statesman, soldier, and what not, in perfection,) had then invested with strong land forces.

The navy again equipped to relieve Rochel.

By this time he was drawn down in person into those parts, and like Nebuchadnezzar, or

Then besieged.

* A soldier of fortune, trained in the German wars, and the same who was afterwards made governor of the Tower. At breaking out of the civil war, he espoused the cause of the parliament.

Alexander the Great against Tyre, had resolved to attempt what to others seemed impossible, *viz.* to make such a wall or dyke across the arm of the sea, which came up to Rochel, as might hinder the English navy's entrance ; and, wanting neither great engineers, nor multitude of hands, nor ready experienced workmen, nor plenty of money, he effected that by his presence, which without it would never have been done.

The duke
killed at
Ports-
mouth by
Felton.

But here we must stop the thread of our discourse, and relate what influence the parliament's intended remonstrance had on the spirit of a discontented and hypochondriac lieutenant, (who missed on being a captain, as he thought, in his turn) who shortly after assassinated the duke at Portsmouth, whilst he was in the heat and height of his preparation for Rochel, and when he was even ready to set sail from thence ; where this malevolent, saturnical man, named Felton, with a broad knife, in a narrow passage, gave him that mortal wound which cut the vena cava, so as he was immediately choaked with his own blood, and he stabbed him over the shoulder of a gentleman who was humbly stooping to salute the duke, and the duke was bending his own body in return of the other's observance, and the crowd was so great, that had not the person's own guilt, after some time and at some distance, discovered himself, he might probably have escaped ; and there being many French nigh the duke's per-

son, the noise at first ran against them to their great danger ; but the assassin being soon after taken, confessed the fact, and professed that he was led thereunto by the ill characters which the parliament's declaration had put upon that great man.

The news came soon to court, and the king understood it whilst he was at his morning public devotion, and there he gave an evidence of his composed mind, for he expressed no passion till the service was ended, and then he retired, and was very sensible of it. The court was nigh Portsmouth, so as messenger came after messenger : and I heard divers of them relate the various circumstances of this foul fact ; and those that came latest, agreed in this, that so distracted were the thoughts of most men there, that they that a little before crowded to be of his remotest followers, so soon forsook his dead corpse, that he was laid upon the hall table nigh to which he fell, and scarce any of his domestics left to attend him. Thus, upon the withdrawing of the sun does the shadow depart from the painted dial.¹

The king's
resentment
of this vil-
lainous as-
sassination.

¹ Howell gives the following minute relation of a fact to which our own time has been so unfortunate as to produce a parallel alike in some circumstances, but infinitely exceeding in atrocity the murder of Buckingham. That statesman resembled the lamented Mr Perceval, as having had the rare for-

The seeds
of France's
greatness
laid

The deep-sighted great cardinal stood firm all this while at the mark, and shewed it was not enough to be wise in projecting, but to be in-

tune to enjoy under the son the same high favour which he had acquired from the father. And his murderer, in sullen and relentless determination, in the choice of a place to commit the crime, and in indifference to his own personal safety when the deed was done, bore no inconsiderable resemblance to Felton. But here the parallel stops; for the showy and superficial accomplishments of Buckingham, as they could not disguise his incapacity and presumption, ought not to be mentioned in comparison with the virtuous and upright disposition, the sound judgment, and useful talents of the late excellent minister of Britain.

“ Upon Saturday last, which was but next before yesterday, being Bartholomew eve, the duke did rise up in a well-disposed humour out of his bed, and cut a caper or two, and being ready, and having been under the barber's hand, (where the murderer thought to have done the deed, for he was leaning upon the window all the while) he went to breakfast, attended by a great company of commanders, where Mons. Soubize came to him, and whispered him in the ear that Rochel was relieved: the duke seemed to slight the news, which made some think that Soubize went away discontented. After breakfast the duke going out, Col. Fryer stepped before him, and stopping him upon some business, and Lieut. Felton being behind, made a thrust with a common tenpenny knife over Fryer's arm at the duke, which lighted so fatally that he slit his heart in two. The duke took out the knife and threw it away; and laying his hand on his sword, and drawing it half out, said, The villain hath killed me! (meaning, as some think, Col. Fryer) for there had been some difference 'twixt them; so reeling against a chimney he fell down dead. The duchess being with child, hearing the noise below came in her night-geers from her bed-chamber, which

dustrious in effecting what was designed ; so as when the Earl of Lindsey (who was commissioned to command that navy and forces, which

was in an upper room, to a kind of rail, and thence beheld him weltering in his own blood. Felton had lost his hat in the crowd, wherein there was a paper sewed, wherein he declared, that the reason which moved him to this act was no grudge of his own, though he had been far behind for his pay, and had been put by his captain's place twice, but in regard he thought the duke an enemy to the state, because he was branded in parliament, therefore what he did was for the public good of his country. Yet he got clearly down, and so might have gone to his horse, which was tied to a hedge hard by ; but he was so amazed that he missed his way, and so struck into the pastry, where, although the cry went that some Frenchman had done't, he thinking the word was Felton, boldly confessed 'twas he that had done the deed, and so he was in their hands. Jack Stamford would have run at him, but he was kept off by Mr Nicholas ; so being carried up to a tower, Capt. Mince tore off his spurs, and asking how he durst attempt such an act, making him believe the duke was not dead, he answered boldly, that he knew he was dispatched, for 'twas not he but the hand of Heaven that gave the stroke ; and though his whole body had been covered over with armour of proof he could not have avoided it. Capt. Cha. Price went post presently to the king four miles off, who being at prayers on his knees when it was told him, yet never stirred, nor was disturbed a whit till all divine service was done. This was the relation, as far as my memory could bear in my Lord of Rutland's letter, who willed me to remember him to your ladyship, and tell you that he was going to comfort your niece (the duchess) as fast as he could."

—HOWELL's *Letter to the Countess of Sutherland*, Ed. 1726, p. 202.

In the sur-
render of
Rochel,
and

the duke had in readiness to set sail with) came to the place, he found the digue so advanced, that though he made some noble attempts, yet the passage was so barricaded that he was forced to return home, and leave poor Rochel, who had endured the greatest extremities, as a trophy unto this great man's wisdom and good fortune: and the garrison marched forth tired and famished, rather as ghosts than living men. And from this epoch, or point of time, France may reckon her entire, though increasing greatness; all other European princes having since declined and wained. For though, a long time after, this part of the world, prepossessed with what opinion, seemed to apprehend the aspiring greatness of Spain, yet that monarchy hath from Philip the Second declined, and really seems now to be very insignificant in the world, but as she is the mistress of the Indian mines; and of late years her forces have been so feeble, and so improsperous, that both at home, in Portugal, and Catalonia, and her several territories in Italy, and in our neighbouring countries in Flanders, she hath not of late done any considerable action, but seems like a goodly tree that is still standing, but hath lost its vegetative virtue, so as when it comes to be cut out into timber, it is brittle, and of no toughness against shot, whilst France hath every year eaten into it by its own united power, and turned both their metals against themselves, con-

quering them as well by the Spanish gold, as iron ; as Portugal, Catalonia, Flanders, and Sicily sufficiently evidence.

And from this conjuncture France affected, and hath to wonder brought about the making herself mistress of the most considerable navy at this time in Christendom, and ere long will of mariners too, especially had they held Sicily, as they do now a good part of Flanders. And however at first we and others despised her seamen, and thought that she would never be able to man or manage those ships she had built, yet the last summer shewed she was able to defend all her ports against the power of Holland, and this summer with her own shipping and captains, (for common stranger mariners will be on board every navy where the pay is good) she hath been able to beat both the Spanish navy, and that considerable squadron of Holland ships, which (under the best sea-captain perchance in the world, who was slain in the service, De Ruyter) was sent to assist them in Sicily.

By the increase of their shipping.

But this, though it may seem too great a digression, is yet necessary to be made ; because, if I be not melancholy disposed, I think France took her greatness (and under the covert thereof hath played her pranks) from the disputes and ill intelligences that have been ever since betwixt this king, nay, (as shall be observed hereafter,) betwixt the usurper Cromwell and parlia-

The methods of the French politics, and

The success
of them.

ments, and would I could end it there. For as this great man made England and Holland in this great action against Rochel contributory unto her greatness, and consequently to their own diminution, so she was made thereby so powerful at home, that she mastered so entirely her own people, and rendered her government so arbitrary and despotical, that she was soon at leisure to cut out work for Spain in Flanders, Catalonia, and Italy ; and for Germany, (a little while after) by bringing in the King of Sweden, and feeding and assisting the lesser princes there, especially Prince Bernard Weymar of Saxe ; inso-much as though that conquering King Gustavus was slain, (whose humour would not long have agreed with the French aspiring greatness) yet she so ordered that affair, that she clipped the wings of the Austrian greatness in Germany, and fixed herself almost entirely in that great province of Alsace, and made Sweden as considerable through his great conquest in Pomeran. And though she long flattered and caressed the state of Holland, and by men and money assisted them to employ their great and experienced captain and wise statesman, Henry Prince of Orange, in taking many considerable towns in Flanders ; yet she made their victories and arms to be put into the scale of her own ascending greatness.

But the empire had never had their peace until France had been emperor, had not that unfortunate, but good statesman, de Witt, foreseen the danger, and brought over that state, and their then almost superannuated great general, the Prince of Orange, (to which work, not here to mention other persons and things, the Spanish gold contributed,) to be resolute at Munster to agree a peace for themselves apart, if France refused to be involved in it, which France little expected. For she thought that she had it in her power to conclude or break this treaty as she pleased: but thus necessitated unto this, and having learnt her old friend's, the grand signior's policy, to secure conquests by short peaces, and soon after enlarge them by sharp wars, she ere long accepted another treaty at Font-Araby, in order unto a marriage between the Infanta of Spain and the young King of France. Where how coarsely our then exiled king was used by the French all know; and how solemnly this peace was sworn, and how fully exclusive of the French king's pretensions to any part of Flanders, by reason of any title to be derived from the Infanta, is likewise notorious: yet, when the time of peace had fitted them for a new war, how surprisingly, and how contrary to solemn asseverations, France entered Flanders, and made so considerable and speedy conquests, that it gave jealousy to all their neighbours, is also well known:

Treaty at
Munster.

Font-Ara-
by, and

and how dexterously she then made propositions to terminate her conquests there, and there being no force in readiness to give her other check to this hasty prosperity, England, Sweden, and Holland, (which was called the triple league,) becoming guarantee unto the Spaniard, a peace at Aix-la-Chapelle was concluded : and how before and after this they dealt with us of England, (for to do them right, they appear the great statesmen and soldiers of this age ; for their great difficulty was mastered, when those of the religion were in their own country mastered,) may now be worthy to touch on.

Aix-la-Chapelle.

Digression about England's unlucky alliance with France, since

The war between England and Holland.

When the providence of God had restored our king, and he had forgot and forgiven all their ill usage in his time of distress, and even when he had married a sister to the brother of France, France unprovoked became a guarantee unto the Holland fishing, and invisibly promoted all misunderstandings betwixt us and them ; and when we were actually and rashly engaged in a war, they being neuters, so owned all the Dutch prizes we took, that their neutrality did us more harm than the other's enmity ; and then, when we two had sufficiently bruised each other, they became instruments of a peace, and believing the core of that war would rankle in our minds, and they perceiving Holland to be very active with foreign states, to the bounding their greatness, (or, in their own phrase, of eclipsing their glory,)

they resolved a downright war with them, (and satisfying us that we might do it without violation of the triple league, which was only to secure the remaining part of Flanders unto Spain,) they drew us in into a share of that war, and they articted to assist us with such a distinct number of French royal men of war, under their own admiral, as made the Hollanders necessitated to set forth the greater fleet, to fight singly with the English ships, for the French were rather spectators than assistants.

French conquests at land.

At land, to the wonder of the world, considering that country's strong towns, forts, rivers, and garrisons, they came before a place and took it. This befel the Dutch, by reason of De Witt's vindictive spirit towards the house of Orange; for he had changed the veteran army there into fresh-watered soldiers, the commanders being either sons or nephews of the chief magistrates of the provinces, and the soldiers the meaner burghers, or native peasants of the country: which (by all I can find) was the single, but the great foiblesse of that great man. Thus the French had almost conquered that whole country in one year. From this unlucky association we withdrew ourselves, and we had reason, when we perceived that France had dealt with us at land as bad as at sea; but timely the emperor, nay, the empire and the Spaniard, joined with the Hollanders, which France was so apprehen-

sive of, that she was forced, in her own phrase, *demordre*, or to loosen her hold, and totally to quit the country of Holland ; yet these various accidents of fortune, (for there is a great difference betwixt a single opulent power, and an united aggregate body, consisting of many heads, and a necessitous power,) she became at last so victorious, that though we were at Nimiguen, umpires or arbitrators in the peace, yet she at last singly gave the law to the emperor, the empire, the several greater and lesser princes of it, and unto the Spaniard and Hollander, and she admitted no articles but what she herself proposed to each of them ; so as though others had the charge and toil, she only had the honour, glory, and advantage of the conclusion of this war ; and now, like an high-flown eagle, she is soaring, but at what prey she will next stoop, (so secret are her counsels) God and her own breast only know. But since her wings are fixed to her body by waxen, worldly, and secular policies, He that bounds the sea, and removes in his mercy his judgments, may melt her wax, and weaken her strength, and make her appear his rod, which He will lay aside, if not burn, when his work is done. For it is He only that through all ages has changed the times and seasons, and set periods to the prosperity of the greatest empires. How to excuse mingling these so remote actions one from the other, and that in several

princes' reigns, I know not, but by saying I had not courage to interrupt my thoughts.

It is high time now to revert to our story, if such an immethodical discourse as this is, and is like to be, may be called so. But the Duke of Buckingham being now dead, it might have been hoped the next session of parliament would have buried in his grave those jealousies which so much prejudiced his majesty's honour abroad, and their good condition at home; but Heaven had not such a blessing for us. The complaints about tonnage and poundage are freshly renewed, so, as his majesty conjectured, (they offering him no bill for the same) that they aimed more at mastery, or change of government, than accommodation; for he saw, if he received it for a short time, how derogatory it would be to him; and if he left off receiving it before it was given, (which none of his predecessors had done, or indeed could well do, and yet there were sometimes great intervals betwixt their coming to the crown and the next parliament) how much it must diminish his treasure, and how much confound trade, was visible, the nature of this duty requiring an uninterrupted collection. Plain it is, this bred a very inward dislike in him towards parliaments, and resolving to dissolve this, and sending down the usual summons to them to attend him in the lord's house, they, prepossessed of what was intended, as they had formerly in a

The proceedings of the two houses with the king after the Duke of Buckingham's death, in the third parliament.

This parliament dissolved.

late parliament kept a speaker from returning to his chair, so they now forcibly detain this speaker in his chair, until they had voted, (as if there had been such a design) that " whoever endeavoured to introduce Popery, Arminianism, or any innovation in religion, should be accounted a capital enemy ;" as likewise, " whoever received the duties of tonnage and poundage, if not given by the parliament ; and whoever paid them," (which was as much as to persuade merchants either to abandon all trade, or by force free themselves from payment ; and then the defence of the seas must be abandoned, and many more ill consequences arise out of it,) " should be reputed a betrayer of the subject's liberty." But sure it was, this hot-spirited vote was like to be an overthrow of the subject's peace. On these ill conditions this third parliament ended.

The method of these Memoirs.

March 27, 1625.

March 10, 1628.

April and November, 1640.

Intending to divide this king's reign into several periods of time, because it had several complexions of affairs in those times, we will make from the beginning of his majesty's reign to the dissolution of this third parliament, the first period. The second shall be from hence unto the two parliaments in the year 1640, which we may call (until the Scotch disturbances, and at last rebellions,) the peaceable and flourishing part of his majesty's reign. And the third shall be the unsatiable and unlimited desire of change of government in that long parliament, which, between

the year 1640 and 1642, had brought all into a civil war: and the last shall be from 1642 unto 1648, when the worst of men, by a rage that reached to heaven, murdered the best of princes. Of whom I cannot say, that he had the rigid policies, that are necessary for a good prince, towards contumacious and innovating spirits, (for the spirit of government may require of a good prince the departing from his own good nature :) but I will say, that to good and loyal minds, he was fitted to have been as happy an instrument to make subjects enjoy wealth, peace, and godliness, as any king that ever reigned in this land. For in his own person he was as great an example of virtue; and from the year 1628, unto the year 1638, I believe England was never master of a profounder peace, nor enjoyed more wealth, or had the power and form of godliness more visibly in it: which will appear when we shall make a conclusion to these Memoirs, or remarks on those times, viz. from 1648 to 1660, when parliaments themselves were as lewdly treated as they before had treated their sovereign, and when Christ our Lord, the King of kings, by heresies and schisms, seemed in this land to be crucified afresh.

It was a clear prophecy of a downfall unto this land, when a king and his two houses of parliament thus dissatisfactorily and often part from one another. For what could be expected, but

The ill consequences of the disputes betwixt king and parliament.

generally uncompliances, and consequently dissatisfactions: For the parliament having omitted this proper season of accommodation after the duke's death, and running all things to extremity, this necessitated the king to have recourse unto such ways of raising supplies, as upon great exigences were formerly preceded by his predecessors, though long disused, and to revive old and obsolete laws, that so he might get that as a right and duty, which he could not obtain from a free will and by a bounty, and to consider how to maintain his just and legal prerogatives.

Sir Richard Weston, chief minister.

And now the chief minister of state being Sir Richard Weston, late chancellor of the exchequer, but newly made Lord Weston, and lord high treasurer of England, and afterwards Earl of Portland, (a gentleman of serious thoughts, and good parts, and versed in the chief employments at home and abroad,) these titles and preferments soon brought him into envy, which ever dogs new-raised greatness. He, like a wise man, endeavoured to draw to his assistance such men as were known and reputed to be wise men, and well affected to parliaments, which was his master's design, as well as his. And accordingly old Sir John Savile of the north was called to court, and made comptroller of the king's household, and privy counsellor; and Sir Thomas Wentworth, his neighbour, was not long after

Sir John Savile.

Sir Thomas Wentworth.

made Lord Wentworth, and Lord President of the North ;¹ and Mr Noy, the generally esteemed lawyer and great antiquary, was made attorney-general.² Mr Noy.

All these instruments of his majesty's government, having been great assertors of the subjects' liberty, but probably now having discerned the immoderate design of some popular leading persons to wound the kingly government, and wearied with parliamentary disputes, (about not repairs, but foundations of government,) were willing to be evidences, that though the king resolved to maintain regal and sovereign authority, vested in him by law, yet that he intended no absolute or arbitrary power, separate from the

¹ Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards too well known as the Earl of Strafford, had at first embraced the popular party in parliament, and was deeply engaged in violent intrigues against Buckingham. When he went over to the court interest, he said to St John, " You see I have left you ;" " Yes, my lord," was the stern answer, " but we will never leave your lordship while the head remains on your shoulders."

² William Noy was a laborious and excellent lawyer, which occasioned his name being anagrammed into a sentence expressive of his habits, " I moil in law." But his unfortunate legal ingenuity was exerted for the discovery of the means of raising money for the crown, without authority of parliament. The grievance of ship-money was ascribed to Noy's councils, and he was fortunate in escaping from the wrath of the parliament by an early death.

laws in being. And until such a temper be found out, this nation will be ever in hazard.

The means
the king
took to
support his
public oc-
casions.

Knight-
hood mo-
ney.

In ann. 30.

Unto one of them therefore, *viz.* the Lord Wentworth, is assigned the proposal of raising money upon the hitherto long-omitted aid, due at his majesty's coronation for knighthood, which in Edward the Second's time was payable by every man that had 15*l.* per annum; but then, for the ease of the meaner sort of subjects, by statute was carried unto 20*l.* per annum, which was evidence enough of its antiquity and legality; but at this time none were charged that had less than 40*l.* per annum; and by this commission through the kingdom was supposed to be raised 100,000*l.* This most men looked upon as illegal, because it seemed antiquated, not considering that former parliaments had laid it asleep by the free supplies from time to time towards the crown's necessities; which, though more visible now than ever, this last parliament would take no notice of, and therefore, towards supplies for his own subsistence, the king seemed resolved to make use of any authority, which his regality by any custom or law had formerly exercised. And under pretence of this kind crept in divers monopolies and projects, probably less warrantable.

The occa-
sion of ship
money.

But the subtle French and incroaching Hollander, upon these distractions, the one having his eye upon Flanders, and the other his design

to undermine us in our trade, and to challenge a freedom in our seas of fishing, (which occasioned the writing of that learned book, *Mare Clausum*, by Mr Selden,) and the Argier pirates infested our seas, even in our own channel, and both these great states, by our necessities, projecting against the safety of the whole nation, deep-sighted Noy, considering what authority every sovereign power had, independent of any others' consent, generally to charge the subject for the defence of the whole, and well understanding that our government, even by its laws and usages of former princes, had such a pretence, his proposals dived to the bottom, and sunk to the foundation of government; and so he induced his majesty to inclose a case, in a letter, unto the whole body of his judges, viz.

"That when the good and safety of the kingdom in general is concerned, and the whole kingdom in danger, whether may not the king, by writ under the great seal of England, command all his subjects in his kingdom at their charge, to provide and furnish such a number of ships, with men, victuals, and ammunition, and for such a time as he shall think fit, for the defence and safeguard of the kingdom, from such danger and peril, and by law compel the doing thereof, in case of refusal

The case stated.

or refractoriness? And, whether in such a case, is not the king the sole judge both of the danger, and when, and how the same is to be prevented and avoided?" The judges to whom this case was referred were,

JOHN BRAMTON.

JOHN FINCH.

HUMPHREY DAVENPORT.

JOHN DENHAM.

RICHARD HUTON.

WILLIAM JONES.

GEORGE CROOKE.

THOMAS TREVOR.

GEORGE VERNON.

ROBERT BERKLEY.

FRANCIS CRAWLEY.

RICHARD WESTON.

All men as learned (without it were Trevor, a very honest gentleman) and as upright as ever filled their benches. These all distinctly, to every particular head of the case, answered affirmatively; and nothing could have led them hereunto but their books.

Writs issued out for ship-money.

And now his majesty thus authorized, in the year 1636 issueth out his writs for ship-money, the first year to provide so many ships of so many tons, unto the maritime counties only; but the next year the danger being

more visible, the writs were directed unto all the counties, and yet the sum amounted not to above 236,000*l.* or thereabouts, which was only 20,000*l.* a month through the whole kingdom, which fell very short of what the future charges amounted unto in maintaining a rebellion against his majesty, upon pretence of these grievances. This great lawyer could distinguish betwixt what was given the crown for support of its own grandeur or splendour, or towards the enlargement of the territories of a king by conquest, or for the support of the allies of the crown, or for the necessities of the crown, or as a free-will offering of the subject, and betwixt what the crown could demand from the subject by its own prerogative in time of visible and imminent danger: for undeniable it was, though the ordinary guards of the sea were provided for by the bills of tonnage and poundage, and though it was an undoubted right of the subject, that no toll or tallage should be levied from the subject, but by consent in parliament, yet, when these rights were best known and observed, as an undoubted prerogative of the crown, through many ages, writs issued, and charged sometimes the maritime ports and counties with such a number of ships as was found necessary for defence of our seas; and when the danger

reached to all the land, the charge was laid upon the inland as well as maritime countries. For what threatened all was to be supported by all ; and at this time the necessity and danger was very apparent, if either France was reflected on in her use of her then considerably increased navy, or in her hasty building of considerable men of war, or in the assistance Holland gave them in building for them, or in the Hollander's own attempts in fishing on our coasts, or in both their attempts upon the sea-towns in Flanders, or in the then actually infesting our very channel by the Mediterranean pirates ; all which were ingredients in the answer the learned judges gave unto the king's case sent to them.

Upon these weighty grounds was begun or revived this pretence of an ancient right ; and it is very observable, that as the king began it with all this caution and formal proceedings, so when the subject contested it, he gave him as uninterrupted and free course and trial of law as ever was betwixt man and man, by having fair and formal judgment given in his behalf ; so he also employed it as sincerely, not mingling the money, or proceed from it, with that in his own exchequer, but keeping them apart, and their accounts,

and yet adding considerably of his own treasure to it.

However, this may be said the king failed in, that he continued it successively for some years together, and in parliament satisfied not his people how prudently and fortunately he had expended it; how it reduced both Dutch and French to modesty; how it had asserted his right against their fishing, freed our channel from the pirates, secured the ports on Flanders side, and brought from Spain and other parts, a great enlargement of trade, and advancement to our mint, and every where an honour to the nation. Which representation would have had influence most probably upon his two houses, if it had been done before the king fell into necessity and extremity. And on the subjects' part it could not be thought but they would be very tender to have such a prerogative revived, which so long had been disused; since a breach in this kind soon widens and tempts unto an assault. The nature of the affair would have borne so many dangerous inferences, that it truly needed a right understanding and friendly accommodation, and a readiness in the subject to have made a future provision for such contingencies, which method might have disposed a prince of this good temper, (who had

The good effect of ship-money not represented in the last parliament as it ought to have been done.

made this good use of what was raised,) to have received a moderate satisfaction. To bring things to an extremity is an evidence, that mastery, not liberty, is aimed at. When such relatives as king and representatives of his people, grow jealous of each other, besides the disorders and disaffections it brings at home, great are the dishonours of it to the prince, and the losses and dangers to the subject from abroad. In all which concerns most commonly passion blinds both sides.

The ways the king took to vindicate the regal rights of his prerogative.

Several parliament men questioned for their misbehaviour in the house.

However, from hence it was, that his majesty cast his thoughts not only upon supplying himself with treasure, in order to the securing the government and seas from foreign enemies, but how to vindicate his regal authority at home, by calling to account, soon after the dissolution of the last parliament, those gentlemen that had done violence in the House of Commons, unto that chair; and as men most active in that unruly work, he questioned Mr Hollis, Sir John Elliot, Sir Henry Hammond, Sir John Hubbert, Mr Selden, Corriton, and others; all faulty of some unbecoming words or actions. They would have defended themselves by their pretending privilege of not answering elsewhere for what they did in that house, but by his majesty in council they are committed

unto several prisons, and they sue out their habeas corpusses; they offer to give bail, but not security for their good behaviour, and in the King's Bench they plead likewise that what they had done was done in parliament, and therefore there only accountable. The judges assert the jurisdiction of their court to hear the cause, replying, "that some offences committed in parliament were punishable out of parliament; for though it was true that that which was done by all the house, and which only concerned the house, was not questionable in any inferiour court, yet particular men's offences and exorbitances were, in such cases as this, a violation of the chair, very questionable;" and they add, that "the court's demand of surety was an act of jurisdiction, not law, being in prevention of danger to be done to the commonwealth." And thus being over-ruled in their plea, they were sentenced upon a *nihil dicit*, and to be imprisoned during his majesty's pleasure; and they were severally fined, upon payment of which fine they were to be released from their imprisonment.

Their trial
in the
King's
Bench.

The men of this spirit generally through the kingdom made the government more uneasy unto the king and his ministers; so as the authority of the council table, whose ju-

Council
table.

Star-chamber.

risdiction reaches not unto private matters betwixt man and man, (where remedy is procurable by law) but naturally extends unto matters which relate unto the honour and peace of the state, is now exercised with some vigilance and vigour. And that most wholesome court of Star-chamber, erected by King Henry VII., to meet with a middle sort of acts, which the common law-courts reached not unto, because the particular cases were too various to fall under a general law, where the judges were not entrusted with any arbitrary power, and yet was necessary for the government to prevent, was now watchful over those humours.

The nature of which court, and its usefulness, is very lively set down by that great chancellor, the Lord Bacon, who wrote the life of that wise king who erected it.¹

¹ "The authority of the Star-chamber, which before subsisted by the ancient common laws of the realm, was confirmed in certain cases by act of parliament. This court is one of the sagest and noblest institutions in the kingdom. For, in the distribution of the courts of ordinary justice, (besides the high court of parliament) in which distribution the King's Bench holdeth the pleas of the crown, the Common Pleas, pleas civil, the Exchequer, pleas concerning the king's revenue, and the Chancery the prætorian power for mitigating the rigour of law, in

As the nature of this court of Star-chamber was to prevent immoderate might and power in great men, and disorders of multitudes in populacy, so (after the crown had taken upon it the supremacy in cases ecclesiastical, and purged the English church from the errors and superstitions of the Romish,

case of extremity, by the conscience of a good man ; there was nevertheless always preserved a high and pre-eminent power to the king's counsel, in causes that might in example or consequence concern the estate of the commonwealth, which, if they were criminal, the council used to sit in the chamber, called the Star-chamber, if civil, in the White-chamber, or Whitehall. And as the Chancery had the prætorian power for equity, so the Star-chamber had the censorian power for offences under the degree of capital. This court of Star-chamber is compounded of good elements ; for it consisteth of four kinds of persons : counsellors, peers, prelates, and chief judges. It discerneth also principally four kinds of causes ; forces, frauds, crimes various of Stellationate, and the inchoations or middle acts towards crimes capital, or heinous, not actually committed or perpetrated. But that which was principally aimed at by this act was force, and the two chief supports of force, combination of multitudes, and maintenance or headship of great persons."—*LORD BACON's Life of Henry VII.*, apud Kennet, I. 594.

Yet, with great submission to such high authority, an engine, acknowledged to be framed for bending the aristocracy under the crown, was most apt to be employed in subjecting the rights of the people to the same domination.

High-com-
mission.

and yet was infected upon the return of the exiled ministers after Queen Mary's death, principally with a presbyterian Calvinistical humour, as likewise in some other persons with a fanatical,) to secure the government against innovators in all these kinds, and to curb their designs, the wise Queen Elizabeth erected a court called the High-commission, for causes ecclesiastical, which fell not under the ordinary jurisdiction of the bishops; and the judges thereof were the archbishops and some bishops, and some lords of the council, and some doctors of the civil law.

The nature
and juris-
diction of
this court.

The jurisdiction of this court was to obviate the designs of all those dissenters, unto whom the law gave the general name of Recusants; and the crown had great reason to prevent the designs of all those sorts of men, each faction having some aim to wound the legal power; the popish party in recovering the papal authority; the presbyterian, zealously affecting the same pretence, was setting up the kirk above the crown; and the fanatic, calling the delusions of the brain the inspirations of the Almighty, they valued no civil authority. These so diversified truth, that if every one of them, being distant one from the other, were in the truth, then there was no unity in truth, nor could there be any bands

of peace, which must necessarily dissolve all bands of government. For wherever a people suppose themselves made free by God, or not obliged by God to obey their princes in all civil commands, which are matters always of an indifferent nature, or matters neither morally good nor bad in themselves, but as commanded by authority, there all rule of sovereignty and subjection is overthrown.

The steadiness of Queen Elizabeth's government, and at last her resolvedness not to be overborne by any faction, either grown or growing up, made these humours in her time rather troublesome than dangerous ; for, like a wise artist of state, she knew it was easier to crop them in the bud, than pull them up by the root : yet her care could not prevent their instilling themselves into the veins of the corporations, where the aversion unto the Romish religion was much more laudable than their knowlege of the true orthodoxy of the Christian religion, or of the reformation of their own church thereunto. But as every ill humour first fixes upon some weak part, and from thence, not timely dispersed, falls upon some nobler, so, in the peaceable and more remiss government of King James, some well-disposed, as well as some factious gentry and nobility, sucked it into their veins, who

How Q. Elizabeth, K. James, and King Charles I. proceeded with opposers of regal authority.

when they perceived that a clergy thus principled, and principling the multitude, conducted much unto that aristocratical government which they affected, or unto the sharing of the sovereignty between the king and the two houses of parliament, (which, as this constitution of government is, is impossible) they imbibed this ill humour so fast, that at first it bred in them a contumacy unto kingly prerogative; and the council-table, and the Star-chamber, and the High-commission court, (which were all but channels to convey beneficially unto the subject that royal authority which the essential constitution of every government places in the unity of the sovereignty, let that sovereignty be placed either in one or more,) became insufferable to them; but the jurisdiction of these and such like courts is purely in order unto the security of the subjects in general, and of that government which for their sakes is to be kept inviolate: which the men of this age not discerning, they at last resolve to obtain the same, though it were by a civil war; and it rose to this height betwixt the last parliament in King James's time, and that in the year 1640, in this king's reign. For if neither the prince personally, nor by some court of justice authoratively, meet not with (as my Lord

The necessity of prerogative.

Bacon phrases it) those inchoations or beginnings, which lead into sedition, violence, and undermining the government both in church and state, it is too probable, that the diseases will be too strong for the remedies applied so late; and therefore it is no marvel unto men thus affected unto a change, that that should appear grievous, which in truth was most highly beneficial, if prudently and conscientiously made use of.

It may be thought incredible, that such instances should be given or made grounds of complaint against these courts, even in parliament; as I myself then heard, in behalf of a servant of Mr Prynne's, for dispersing libels, and in behalf of Sir Robert Howard, of the family of Suffolk, for living scandalously with the Lady Purbeck; and in behalf of Sir William Waller, who bastinadoed Sir Thomas Reynolds: which last case I cannot say positively was brought in as a complaint, but was often hinted as an excess of jurisdiction. But I shall mention them all in the next period of time, and they will all serve to vindicate these several judicatures, and to prove that there was more cause to complain of the head-strong and hard-mouthed horse, than of the strait rein, or the firm hand of the rider.

The good
estate of
England
at this
time.

Thus his majesty's task was more to curb the innovating humour of an ambitious sort of men, who made way for their own greatness, by making parliamentary authority rival regal, than to satisfy the subject in general ; for in Queen Elizabeth's, King James's, and this king's reign, (set aside the disputes betwixt him and them about parliamentary jurisdiction) no nation in the world at home enjoyed more peace and plenty ; and in this king's reign the court was most regular and splendid : in city and country every man sat quiet under his own vine, and the fountains of justice, that decided *meum* and *tuum*, were clear and current ; for the judges were learned and upright men, and the lawyers of great eminency. The public charges very light, if men would but have reflected that there is a necessity of a public charge, or compared themselves with their neighbours. For the politic, like the natural body, is not in its good state and health by every single member's plenty, but by that portion of it which is contributed to the habit of the whole body ; which, unto those that know this distinction, it is known that these two states, even in the natural body, are different things ; the one feeding the other, and the other raising a spirit to sustain its benefactor.

At this time men of good estates paid about twenty shillings, and the best estates in England then paying not above , upon that account. And they that made this so grievous, soon after thought it not amiss, because it was to maintain their own sedition, to lay ten times more upon every subject than he paid before. Trade ran so high, that the credit of the English merchants, through every bourse or exchange in Christendom, exceeded any nation's in Christendom, and our manufactures here increased daily; and I think I may truly say that there were few good cobblers in London but had a silver beaker; so rife were silver vessels among all conditions.* The learning of the divines, and their grave and sober conversation (notwithstanding the malicious inquisition that was made into their lives, which, by finding out a very few ill men, would have scandalized many good) was very eminent, and the purity and orthodoxy of

* The use of plate long excluded that of glasses, though Falstaff declares the latter to be "your only drinking." But the passage in the text serves to illustrate the immense supplies which the parliament derived from the zealous citizens, when all their household plate and valuable trinkets were dedicated voluntarily to the support of the civil war.

their doctrines needs no other proof, than their books and works, which were then and have been since set forth. Nor were the universities ever cleaner in their fountain or statutes, or better purged in their stream or conformity to them.

All this at a time when all the rest of the world was embroiled in war, and heavy laden under taxes; and we in our manufactures, shipping, and trading, reaping the advantages of their ill condition. And it could scarce be otherwise, when we shall give the true character of this highly good, but most unfortunate prince. He was a person, though born sickly,* yet who came, through temperance and exercise, to have as firm and strong a body as most persons I ever knew, and throughout all the fatigues of the war, or during his imprisonment, was never sick. His appetite was to plain meats, and though he took a good quantity thereof, yet it was suit-

The character of
King
Charles I.

His temperance.

* He was very weak when a child in the limbs, which his father proposed to remedy by putting him into iron boots, a rough project, which his nurse (the lady of Carey, Earl of Monmouth,) parried with difficulty. His brother Henry used to insult him on account of his crooked legs, and promise to make him Archbishop of Canterbury, that his long robes might hide that deformity.

able to an easy digestion. He seldom ate of above three dishes at most, nor drank above thrice : a glass of small beer, another of claret wine, and the last of water ; he ate suppers as well as dinners heartily, but betwixt meals he never meddled with any thing. Fruit he would eat plentifully, and with this regularity he moved as steadily as a star follows his course. His deportment was very majestic, for he would not let fall his dignity, no, not to the greatest foreigners that came to visit him and his court ; for though he was far from pride, yet he was careful of majesty, and would be approached with respect and reverence.* His conversation was free, and the subject matter of it (on his own side of the court) was most commonly rational ; or, if facetious, not light. With any artist or good mechanic, traveller, or scholar, he would discourse freely ; and as he was commonly improved by them, so he often gave light to them in their own art or knowledge. For there were few gentlemen in the world that knew more of useful or necessary learning than this prince did : and yet his proportion of books was but small, having, like Francis the First of France, learned more by the ear than by study. His way of arguing was very

His deport-
ment and
behaviour.

His accom-
plishments.

civil and patient ; for he seldom contradicted another by his authority, but by his reason : nor did he by any petulant dislike quash another's argument ; and he offered his exception by this civil introduction, " By your favour, sir, I think otherwise on this or that ground : " yet he would discountenance any bold or forward address unto him. And in suits or discourse of business, he would give way to none abruptly to enter into them, but looked that the greatest persons should in affairs of this nature address to him by his proper ministers, or by some solemn desire of speaking to him in their own persons. His exercises were manly ; for he rode the great horse very well, and on the little saddle he was not only adroit, but a laborious hunter or field-man ; and they were wont to say of him that he failed not to do any of his exercises artificially, but not very gracefully ; like some well-proportioned faces, which yet want a pleasant air of countenance. He had a great plainness in his own nature, and yet he was thought even by his friends to love too much a versatile man ; but his experience had thoroughly weaned him from this at last.

His exercises.

He kept up the dignity of his court, limiting persons to places suitable to their qualities, unless he particularly called for them.

Besides the women, who attended on his beloved queen and consort, he scarce admitted any great officer to have his wife in the family. Sir Henry Vane was the first that I knew in that kind, who, having a good diet as comptroller of the household, and a tenuity of fortune, was winked at, so as the court was filled, not crammed. His exercises of religion were most exemplary; for every morning early, and evening not very late, singly and alone, in his own bed-chamber or closet, he spent some time in private meditation, (for he durst reflect and be alone) and through the whole week, even when he went a hunting, he never failed, before he sat down to dinner, to have part of the liturgy read unto him and his menial servants, came he never so hungry or so late in : and on Sundays and Tuesdays he came (commonly at the beginning of service) to the chapel, well attended by his court-lords and chief attendants, and most usually waited on by many of the nobility in town, who found those observances acceptably entertained by him. His greatest enemies can deny none of this; and a man of this moderation of mind could have no hungry appetite to prey upon his subjects, though he had a greatness of mind not to live precariously by them. But when he fell into

His exercises of religion.

the sharpness of his afflictions, (than which few men underwent sharper) I dare say I know it, (I am sure conscientiously I say it) though God dealt with him as he did with St Paul, not remove the thorn, yet he made his grace sufficient to take away the pungency of it: for he made as sanctified an use of his afflictions as most men ever did.

His firmness in the religion professed and established in the church of England.

No gentleman in his three nations, though there were many more learned, (for I have supposed him but competently learned, though eminently rational) better understood the foundations of his own church, and the grounds of the reformation, than he did: which made the pope's nuncio to the queen, Signior Con, to say (both of him and the Archbishop Laud, when the king had forced the archbishop to admit a visit from, and a conference with the nuncio,) "that when he came first to court, he hoped to have made great impressions there; but after he had conferred with prince and prelate, who never denied him any thing frowardly or ignorantly, but admitted all which primitive and uncorrupted Rome for the first 500 years had exercised," he declared he found, "That they resolved to deal with his master, the pope, as wrestlers do with one another, take him up to fling him down." And there-

fore, though I cannot say I know that he wrote his Icon Basilike, or Image, which goes under his own name, yet I can say I have heard him, even unto my unworthy self, say many of those things it contains : and I have been assured by Mr Levett, (one of the pages of his bed-chamber, and who was with him through all his imprisonments) that he hath not only seen the manuscript of that book among his majesty's papers at the Isle of Wight, but read many of the chapters himself : and Mr Herbert, who, by the appointment of parliament attended him, says, he saw the manuscript in the king's hand, as he believed ; but it was in a running character, and not that which the king usually wrote. And whoever reads his private and cursory letters, which he wrote unto the queen, and to some great men, especially in his Scotch affairs, set down by Mr Burnet, when he stood single, as he did through all his imprisonments, the gravity and significance of that style may assure a misbeliever that he had head and hand enough to express the ejaculations of a good, pious, and afflicted heart ; and Solomon says, that " affliction gives understanding," or elevates thoughts : and we cannot wonder that so royal a heart, sensible of such afflictions, should make such

His book,
entitled,
Icon Basilike.
Lamb.

a description of them as he hath done in that book.¹

His sound
judgment.

Master of
an excel-
lent style
and pen.

And though he was of as slow a pen as of speech,² yet both were very significant, and he had that modest esteem of his own parts, that he would usually say, "He would willingly make his own dispatches, but that he found it better to be a cobbler than a shoemaker." I have been in company with very learned men, when I have brought them their own papers back from him with his alterations, who ever confessed his amendments to have been very material. And I once, by his commandment, brought him a paper of my own to read,

¹ The vehement dispute concerning the authenticity of this work is generally known. But, if it should be granted, that Ganden, or any other of Charles's chaplains, had corrected, or perhaps ornamented the style, it cannot surely be averred that there is any thing either in the general tenor, or in particular passages of the Eikon Basilike, superior to the acknowledged sense and talents of Charles I. The true reason for struggling the point, seems to have been the impression which this picture of suffering majesty was likely to make on the humanity of the English nation, with the desire of mortifying the cavaliers, who took a melancholy pride in illustrating the virtues and talents of the king, from this his last legacy.

² Charles hesitated in his speech almost to stammering; yet at his trial he spoke deliberately and distinctly, without the least appearance of impediment.

to see whether it was suitable unto his directions, and he disallowed it slightly : I desired him I might call Doctor Sanderson^{*} to aid me, and that the doctor might understand his own meaning from himself ; and with his majesty's leave I brought him whilst he was walking and taking the air ; whereupon we two went back, but pleased him as little when we returned it ; for, smilingly, he said, " A man might have as good ware out of a chandler's shop : " But afterwards he set it down with his own pen very plainly, and suitable unto his own intentions. The thing was of

* The Rev. Robert Sanderson, born 1587, received his education at Oxford, and was, by the patronage of Laud, made chaplain in ordinary to Charles, who took great pleasure in his conversation. Being excellently skilled in theology, he was made *regius professor* of divinity in the university of Oxford, 1642, and was afterwards permitted to attend the king in his various places of confinement, and particularly in the Isle of Wight, where the passage occurred which is mentioned in the text. He was, during the usurpation, deprived of all his preferments, wounded, plundered, and imprisoned. After the restoration, Sanderson was preferred to the see of Lincoln, and died January 29, 1662, leaving behind him various theological and casuistical treatises. Wood has further celebrated his talents as an indefatigable searcher into ancient records, a complete herald and genealogist, and a profound historian.

that nature, (being too great an owning of the Scots, when Duke Hamilton was in the heart of England so meanly defeated, and, like the crafty fox, lay out of countenance in the hands of his enemies,*) that it chilled the doctor's ink; and when the matter came to be communicated, those honourable persons that then attended him, prevailed on him to decline the whole. And I remember, when his displeasure was a little off, telling him how severely he had dealt in his charactering the best pen in England, Dr Sanderson's, he told me he had had two secretaries, one a dull man in comparison of the other, and yet the first best pleased him: "For," said he, "my Lord Carleton ever brought me my own sense in my own words; but my Lord Falkland most commonly brought me my instructions in so fine a dress, that I did not always own them." Which put me in mind to tell him a story of my Lord Burleigh and his son Cecil: for Burleigh being at council, and lord treasurer, reading an order penned by a new clerk of the council, who was a wit and scholar, he flung it downward to the lower end of the

* After the battle, or rather rout, at Uttoxeter, where the duke was made prisoner, 1647.

table to his son, the secretary, saying, " Mr Secretary, you bring in clerks of the council who will corrupt the gravity and dignity of the style of the board ;" to which the secretary replied, " I pray, my lord, pardon this, for this gentleman is not warm in his place, and hath had so little to do, that he is wanton with his pen ; but I will put so much business upon him that he shall be willing to observe your lordship's directions." These are so little stories, that it may be justly thought I am either vain, or at leisure to set them down ; but I derive my authority from an author the world hath ever revered, viz. Plutarch, who, writing the lives of Alexander the Great and Julius Cæsar, runs into the actions flowing from their particular natures, and into their private conversation, saying, " These smaller things would discover the men, whilst their great actions only discover the power of their states."

One or two things more then I may war-
rantably observe : First, as an evidence of his
natural probity, whenever any young noble-
man or gentleman of quality, who was going
to travel, came to kiss his hand, he cheer-
fully would give them some good counsel
leading to moral virtue, especially to good
conversation ; telling them, that " if he heard

Proofs of
his natural
probity.

they kept good company abroad, he should reasonably expect they would return qualified to serve him and their country well at home ;” and he was very careful to keep the youth in his times uncorrupted. This I find in the Memoirs upon James, Duke Hamilton, was his advice unto that noble and loyal Lord William, afterwards Duke Hamilton, who so well served his son, and never perfidiously disserved him when in arms against him. Secondly, his fore-mentioned intercepted letters to the queen at Naisby had this passage in them, where, mentioning religion, he said, “ This is the only thing wherein we two differ ;” which, even unto a miscreant Jew, would have been proof enough of this king’s sincerity in his religion, and had it not been providence or inadvertence, surely those who had in this kind defamed him would never themselves have published in print this passage which thus justified him.

His high
value for
the church
of Eng-
land.

This may be truly said, that he valued the reformation of his own church before any in the world, and was as sensible and as knowing of, and severe against the deviations of Rome from the primitive church, as any gentleman in Christendom, and beyond those errors no way quarrelsome towards it : for he was willing to give it its due, that it might be brought

to be willing to accept, at least to grant, such an union in the church, as might have brought a free and friendly communion between dissenters, without the one's total quitting his errors, or the other's being necessitated to partake therein : and I truly believe this was the utmost both of his and his archbishop's inclinations ; and if I may not, yet both these martyrs' confessions on the scaffold, (God avert the prophecy of the last, *Venient Romani*,¹) surely may convince the world that they both died true assertors of the reforma-

¹ In allusion to the following remarkable passage in Laud's speech upon the scaffold :—" Yea, but here's a great clamour that I would have brought in popery: I shall answer that more fully by and by. In the mean time you know what the Pharisees said against Christ himself,—' If we let him alone all men will believe in him, *et venient Romani*,' and the Romans will come and take away both our place and the nation.' Here was a causeless cry against Christ that the Romans will come: and see how just the judgment of God was; they crucified Christ for fear that the Romans should come, and his death was it which brought in the Romans upon them; God punishing them with that which they most feared: and I pray God this clamour of *venient Romani*, (of which I have given no cause) help not to bring them in; for the pope never had such a harvest in England since the reformation as he hath now, upon the sects and divisions that are amongst us." —SOMERS'S *Tracts*, IV. 450.

tion. And the great and learned light of this age, Grotius, soon discerned this inclination in him ; for in his dedication of his immortal and scarce ever-to-be-paralleled book, *De Jure Belli et Pacis*, he recommends it to Lewis XIII., King of France, as the most royal and christian design imaginable for his majesty to become a means to make an union amongst Christians, in profession of religion ; and therein he tells him how well-knowing and well-disposed the King of England was thereunto. In a word, had he had as daring and active a courage to obviate danger, as he had a steady and undaunted in all hazardous rencounters, or had his active courage equalled his passive, the rebellious and tumultuous humour of those who were disloyal to him, probably had been quashed in their first rise : for throughout the English story it may be observed, that the soldier-like spirit in the prince hath been ever much more fortunate and esteemed than the pious : a prince's awful reputation being of much more defence to him, than his regal (nay legal) edicts.

Wherein
he seemed
defective.

What dis-
turbed the
good state
and peace
of those
times.

After all this it may be asked what meridian or noon-day devil disturbed all this happy state ; and it may too truly be answered it was an envy unto the regal prerogative, which

being singly, though limitedly lodged in the crown, was endeavoured to be transferred jointly unto the king, and (as they called it) parliament, which the regal or legal constitution of this English government will not bear. For, as shall be shewed hereafter, in a tract by itself, the king is singly sovereign, and no power co-ordinate with him ; nor in the legislative power hath either one or both houses more authority, than to advise or consent unto what may be beneficial unto the subject and weal-public ; for upon those two hinges, *viz.* of prerogative, to keep the body of the people in their politic constitution in peace and good order, and municipal laws, and to preserve inoffensiveness in conversation, and justice in contracts of one man towards another, doth the weight of all government turn. Nor was ever prince more willing that the benches in Westminster-Hall should determine of his prerogatives, than was this. Witness the cases of the parliament gentlemen, questioned in the King's Bench court, and of the ship-money brought before all the judges of England, in the Exchequer-chamber, both cases being adjudged in the king's right. But neither of these found the same candour when they were complained of in parliament ; for then, not by way of appeal,

the sentences of the courts were brought before the judicature of the lord's house, where the judges might have given the reason for their decrees, but the uncontrollable and expeditious way of legislature must cut in sunder that knot, which the oracle of law required should be untied; and what necessity of state forced the king, as he supposed, legally to require necessity of fortune, (the tumults of those times making his condition little less than a duress,) must force him to part with all; which is instanced, to shew that if any spirit of moderation had been in the two houses, there was a temper in this prince to have prevented any necessity of running things to extremity.

Why the king was so firm unto the church of England.

Besides this, the firmness of this prince unto the reformed religion of his national church was, because he well understood it to be a pure member of the catholic, and therefore was resolute in the defence of it; and this created him much trouble from the designs and obstinacy of all dissenters. For he espoused the protection of it, not as an engine of state, (as present Rome) nor as it might serve to promote a merchandizing and trading humour, (as our neighbour-state,) but as the institutions thereof were the evidences of the mystery of redemption; for he was

sensible how the simplicity of Christian religion gave both unto God and unto Cæsar the things which belonged unto either. So, as though the depositum of the gospel, and the function of his ministry, were entrusted to an order of men separated for that service, yet, for the civil peace, and that sovereignty might be lodged in unity, the secular power had the authority over the ecclesiastical ; and neither the episcopal hierarchy, nor the private spirit, but were made subordinate unto the secular authority, as most conducing unto the peace of mankind. This scriptural doctrine was rivetted in him ; and an obstinate and furious zeal had so possessed dissenters, that when they could mingle their leavenous zeal with a dissatisfied lay-lump, (though at first they were not one of twenty) it so fermented the blood, that at last it cast the whole body into a distemper, then burst into a fever, then ended in a phrensy ; (as this story in the conclusion will shew,) so as the king and his bishops were gently treated, when they were only said to be affected to popery, and suppressors of the power of godliness ; and the envy was directed chiefly against Archbishop Laud, who was principally in his master's favour ; but how causelessly this character following will manifest.

But whether all this said on this king be true, as certainly it is, read the old Earl of Bristol's book, wrote on his own behalf, not the king's.

The character of Archbishop Laud.

Archbishop Laud was a man of an upright heart and a pious soul, but of too warm blood and too positive a nature towards asserting what he believed a truth to be a good courtier;¹ and his education fitted him as little for it as his nature: which having been most in the university, and among books and scholars, where oft canvassing affairs that are agitated in that province, and prevailing in it, rather gave him wrong than right measures of a court. He was generally acknowledged a good scholar, and thoroughly versed in ecclesiastical learning. He was a zealot in his heart both against popery and presbytery;² but a great assertor of church authority, in-

Zealous against popery and presbytery.

¹ Laud's great error, as a churchman, was a superstitious adherence to ceremonials, which of themselves are matters of indifference, and which at that time were a great stumbling-block to the puritans. But as a statesman he may be also stigmatized as an abettor of prerogative and arbitrary power. His passionate temper also made him many enemies, being apt, says Fuller, "always to concur with the severest side, and to infuse more vinegar than oil into all his censures."

² Laud was, however, much more disposed towards the

stituted by Christ and his apostles, and as primitively practised, which notwithstanding he really and freely acknowledged subject unto the secular authority. And therefore he carefully endeavoured to preserve the jurisdiction which the church anciently exercised, before the secular authority owned her; at least so much thereof, as the law of this our realm had applied to our circumstances, which our common lawyers daily struck at, and through prohibitions and other appeals every day lessened, and this bred an unkindness to him in many of the long robe, however some of them were very careful of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

A great assessor of ecclesiastical authority and discipline.

He was a man of great modesty in his own person and habit, and of regularity and devo-

doctrines of popery than those of presbytery, and it has been supposed that he could have reconciled himself to the catholic creed, as received by papists, could he have escaped submission to the supremacy of the Roman see. The court of Rome therefore loved him not, although they set on foot some obscure intrigues to obtain his countenance. The provincial of the English friars wrote a book to prove the possibility of reconciling the churches of Rome and England, which Laud probably approved of, as he protected the author.—See the *Life of Wilson the Historian*, in *Peck's Desiderata Curiosa*.

Kind to,
and very
watchful
over his
clergy.

The great
work of re-
edifying
the cathed-
ral of St
Paul carri-
ed on by
him.

tion in his family; and as he was very kind to his clergy, so he was very careful to make them modest in their attire,¹ and very diligent in their studies, in faithfully dispensing God's word, reverently reading the prayers, and administering the sacraments, and in preserving their churches in cleanliness, and with plain and fitting ornament, that so void of superstition, God's house in this age, where every man bettered his own, might not lie alone neglected; and accordingly he set upon that great work of St Paul's church, which his diligence perfected in a great measure; and his master's piety made magnificent that most noble structure by a portico: but not long after the carved work thereof was broken

¹ "He was very plain in apparel, and sharply checked such clergymen whom he saw goe in rich or gaudy cloaths, commonly calling them of the church triumphant. Thus, as Cardinal Wolsey is reported the first prelate who made silks and sattins fashionable amongst clergymen, so this arehbiashop first retrenched the usual wearing thereof. Once at a visitation in Essex, one in orders (of good estate and extraction) appeared before him very gallant in habit, whom Dr Laud, then Bishop of London, publicly reproved, shewing to him the plainness of his own apparel. My lord, said the minister, you have better cloaths at home, and I have worse, whereat the bishop rested very well contented."—FULLER'S *Church History*, 1656, fol. Book X. p. 218.

down with axes and hammers, and the whole sacred edifice made not only a den of thieves, but a stable of unclean beasts, as I can testify, having once gone into it purposely to observe, from which contamination Providence some few years since cleansed it by fire.¹

¹ Fuller has thus commemorated Laud's zeal for the restoration of decayed churches:—"It happened that a visitation was kept at St Peter's, in Cornhill, for the clergy of London. The preacher discoursing of the painfulness of the ministerial function, proved it from the Greek deduction of *Διακονος*, deacon, so called from *κοινος*, dust, because he must *laborare in arena in pulvere*, work in the dust, do hard service in hot weather. Service ended, bishop Laud proceeded to his charge to the clergy, and observing the church ill repaired without, and slovenly kept within, I am sorry (said he) to meet here with so true an etymology of *diaconus*, for here is both dust and dirt too, for a deacon (or priest either) to work in. Yea, it is dust of the worst kind, caused from the ruins of this ancient house of God, so that it pitieth his servants to see her in the dust. Hence he took occasion to press the repairing of that and other decayed places of divine worship, so that from this day we may date the general mending, beautifying, and adorning all English churches, some to decency, some to magnificence, and some (if all complaints were true) to superstition.

"But the church of St Paul's, (the only cathedral in Christendom dedicated to that apostle,) was the masterpiece of his performances. We know what one satirically said of him, that he plucked down puritans and property,

Watchful
over the
puritan
faction.

He prevented likewise a very private and clandestine design of introducing nonconformists into too many churches; for that society of men (that they might have teachers to please their itching ears,) had a design to buy in all the lay impropriations, which the parish-churches in Henry VIII.'s time were robbed of, and lodging the advowsons and presentations in their feoffees, to have introduced men who would have introduced doctrines suitable to their dependencies, which the court already felt too much the smart of, by being forced to admit the presentations of the lay patrons, who too often dispose their

to build up Pauls and prerogative. But let impartial judges behold how he left, and remember how he found that ruinous fabric, and they must conclude that (though intending more) he effected much in that great design. He communicated his project to some private persons of taking down the great tower in the middle to the Spurrs, and rebuild it in the same fashion (but some yards higher) as before. He meant to hang as great and tuneable a ring of bells as any in the world, whose sound, advantaged with their height and vicinity of the Thames, must needs be loud and melodious. But now he is turned to his dust, and all his thoughts have perished, yea, that church formerly approached with due reverence, is now entered with just fear of falling on those under it, and is so far from having its old decays repaired, that it is daily decayed in its new reparations."—FULLER, *ut supra*, p. 219.

benefices to men rather suitable to their own opinions, than the articles and canons of the church.¹

All this bred him more and more envy, but if it had pleased God to have given him an uninterrupted course, and if a few of his successors had walked in his steps, we might, without any tendency to popery, or danger of superstition, have served God reverently and uniformly, and according unto primitive practice and purity, and not have been, as we are now, like a shivered glass scarce ever to be made whole again. Thus finding Providence had led him into authority, he very really and strongly opposed both popery and presbytery. He was sensible how the first by additions had perverted the purity of religion, and turned it into a policy; but resolving not to contest Rome's truths, though he spared not her errors, both papist and presbyter, with

Envyed and
hated for it
by that
party.

¹ It was, however, said of his efforts on this occasion, that, by his powerful digging, he could make the shallowest pretext of the crown deep enough to drown the undoubted right of any private patron to a church living.—FULLER, *ut supra*. John White, (afterwards known by the name of Century White,) was one of the trustees chosen by the puritans for purchasing impropriations to be conferred on puritans. He was brought before the Star-chamber, and severely censured by Laud.

all their lay-party, were well contented that it might be believed he was popishly affected. And being conscious likewise how presbytery, or the Calvinistical reformation, which many here, and more in Scotland, affected by subtraction and novel interpretation, had forsaken the good old ways of the primitive church, and was become dangerous to monarchy, he set himself against this as well as that, but both their weights crushed him.

His book
against
Fisher the
Jesuit.

The evidence which he gave of his zeal against popery, is manifested by as learned and as judicious a book, (and so acknowledged even by his adversaries,) as ever was written on that subject by any man since the Reformation, and is so esteemed by all abroad as well as at home :^{*} which book was so well digested by his great master's royal heart and hand, (for Bishops Andrews, Laud, and Hooker, were this prince's three great authors,) that if that epitome which his majesty made thereof, and I have seen under his own hand, might

^{*} In 1622-3, Dr Laud held a polemical conference with Fisher the jesuit, in presence of Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, and his mother, for the purpose of confirming them in the protestant faith, in which they were then supposed to be wavering. An account of the controversy was published by Laud in 1624.

be communicated, it might be looked on as another Εἰκὼν Βασιλική. And this good bishop, like his master, maintained it as well with his blood as his ink; for when he was murdered and martyred upon the scaffold, (no time for dissimulation) he died with this profession.

But before this time, those that were purely presbyterians, (and in that sense but very competently learned,) had got a shelter under those who were no way presbyterian, as presbytery opposed episcopacy and canons, and yet, agreeing with Calvin and those that followed him, in the opinions about reprobation, election, free grace, &c., these men were a cover for the purely presbyterian spirit to take deeper root: and as all dissensions in the church spawn new sects, so under the purely presbyterian began to spread those various sects which we now call Independents. This was no new thing; for we have before mentioned how the reformed exiles in Queen Mary's time, which had retired into Germany, had divided themselves under episcopal, presbyterial, and independent professors; although this last number of men were then scarce a number, yet of all three there were, and these last were in this nation in no sort thought considerable, until the Egyptian slime and

How the
presbyterians
sheltered
them-
selves.

Rise of the
Independ-
ents.

dog-star-heat, in the parliament 1640, bred so many congregational insects, that they as laudably made presbytery appear to them antichristian, as episcopacy had appeared so unto the presbyterians.¹ All which is enough to distract weak judgments, and these several contests about truth, enough to make weak men believe that there was no truth ;

¹ Butler's witty description of the rise of sectaries is in the same tone :—

“ The learned write, an insect breeze
Is but a mungrel prince of bees,
That falls before a storm on cows,
And stings the founders of his house ;
From whose corrupted flesh that breed
Of vermin did at first proceed.
So, ere the storm of war broke out,
Religion spawned a various rout
Of petulant capricious sects,
The maggots of corrupted texts,
That first run all religion down,
And after every swarm its own.
For, as the Persian magi once
Upon their mothers got their sons,
Who were incapable t' enjoy
That empire any other way ;
So presbyter begot the other
Upon the good old cause, his mother,
Then bore them like the devil's dam,
Whose son and husband are the same.”

HUDIBRAS, Part III. Canto II.

and then it is easy to make the next step, and to believe, with Mr Hobbs, the present revolutions of nature to have been eternal; and so, in relation unto piety and a future state, there needed no other inquisition to be made, than to observe the religion of their sovereign, or country; nor in civil converse or contract, any natural law further obligatory, than as promulged by the municipal laws of the place.

In a word, these opinions and contests flung all into chaos; and this gave the great advantages unto the Romanists, who want not their differences among themselves, but better manage them: for they have retained a great part of primitive truths, and having to plead some antiquity for their many doctrinal errors, and their ambitious and lucrative encroachments; and having the policy of flinging coloquintida into our pot, by our dissensions and follies they have, with the motion of the circle of the wheel, brought themselves, who were at the nadir, to be almost at the zenith of our globe; but by too strong a fire, even at this present, when the character is transcribing, it may be hoped projection is hindered, and the glass broken.

But, since we have mentioned divisions to be amongst our episcopal and canonical men, we think ourselves obliged to express from

Confusions arising from the several sects, and the advantage thence taken by the papists.

The original of these differences in points of religion.

what root their dissensions sprang; and they may both with Jeremiah say, "Woe to us, that we were sons of contention:" For whilst they argued amongst themselves about these abstruse questions of predestination, free-will, free-grace, &c., and some followed Calvin and Beza, and others Melancthon and Castalio, the sly anti-episcopal presbyterian, under disguise of great lowliness, and admitting into his society any sect that made up this cry, gained opportunities to overthrow both the forementioned canonical disputers. True it is, that some little time after our reformation, whose articles had avoided those thorny disputes, many of our eminent bishops, in the above-mentioned mysterious points, readilier followed Calvin than Melancthon; yet our first reformers, having wisely declined those points, and kept these articles in such a latitude as might displease neither party, when, in the university of Cambridge, one Dr Baron, a Frenchman, and another, Mr Barret, a learned disputant, began to handle these heads more freely than suited with quiet the good Archbishop Whitgift, who was very moderate therein, unfortunately departed from his own usual prudence, and was prevailed on by Bishop Fletcher of London, and some others, in order only to the quieting university dis-

putes, to determine against Baron, Margaret-professor, in those nine articles, usually called Lambeth Articles, which were resolved on in November, anno 1595. Which fact being made known unto Queen Elizabeth by the Lord Treasurer Burleigh, she was so displeased thereat, that these articles were quashed, and all threatened that had a hand therein to be attainted of a *premunire*, so as soon after a copy of them was scarce to be found at Cambridge.* If these great points be examined

* This was a celebrated dispute, known by the name of the *Quinquarticular Controversy*. Mr Barnett, a fellow of Caius College, had preached against predestination, reprobation, &c. Being called upon by the vice-chancellor to retract, he appealed to Whitgift, Archbishop of Canterbury, to which appeal the university declined to submit. In the meanwhile the controversy continued to rage, and the archbishop, by way of putting an end to it, caused the nine articles, called the Lambeth articles, to be framed and sent down to Cambridge, as containing the doctrine of the church of England on these obscure points of faith. But Queen Elizabeth, who foresaw the danger of attempting to subject points of abstract and metaphysical discussion to any certain rule or standard, caused the articles to be suppressed by her royal authority, and intimated to the prelate her displeasure, that he should have given any countenance to a controversy fraught with danger to weak and ignorant minds, who are ever most zealous upon points which they are incapable of comprehending.

by that description in scripture, which is there made of the nature of God, or of the natural freedom of man, or by the most primitive fathers before St Austin's time, the assertors of that which some of late nick-name Arminianism, will be found, as well by scripture as reason, to have no unsoundness in them. For the men before mentioned, Melancthon, and Latimer, and Castalio, and Bishop Andrews, and Mountague, afterward Bishop of Chichester, and Laud, (who by this appears singly and by himself no innovator, though concurring with the forenamed learned men,) were all as great scholars and divines as any who were of a contrary opinion: such as was Fletcher, Bishop of London, and Mountague, Bishop of Winchester, Bishop Davenant, and Prideaux, or any others. But all this is said to bewail this contention in the church, and to shew that if both sides had observed the wisdom of the church's reformation in the latitude of her articles, neither side by their sly adversaries had been overthrown. Thus still it is, *Perditio tua ex te, O Israel!*

And hence it may appear that both sides were faulty, it being much more necessary for us men to know what God positively hath determined in relation to our duty, than what in point of decree he hath pre-ordained in or-

der unto our salvation. Although it is true too, that God's eternal decrees of man's last end were not without a just respect unto his actions, as our salvation itself depends upon the performance of our duty thereto required. But it is not necessary for governors, by any other force than that of reason, to bow men's minds into a rigid conformity of opinions, if they be learned and sincere persons, who edify the souls of men towards God, and confirm the allegiance of men towards their prince: but to silence such disputes in the pulpit, the king had given order, but was not well observed on either side. What followed this division may teach men of future ages the danger of widening differences upon unnecessary or circumstantial points, among those who agree in fundamentals, or disagree upon so slight abstruse doctrines, as are not capable of easy resolutions, especially when an enemy watches the undermining both. For whilst the church puritan, (of which number there were very many knowing, learned, and probably good men,) opposed the more canonical churchmen, the knave puritan overthrew both: for the less ceremonial sort of churchmen, such as Bishop Prideaux, and Bishop Brownrig, and Doctor Oldsworth, and Shute, and Udall, all disclaimed the reforma-

tion projected by our long lay-parliament men and assembly of divines, and attested our own, and were involved without discrimination in the church's misery. And Dr Prideaux was wont to say, though Archbishop Laud and he could never understand one another till it was too late, yet he revered no man more before his death, that he had wisely foreseen what lay hid to many of them; and Dr Oldsworth himself told me at Hampton Court, that he had been as much enlightened in church affairs by the king himself, as by any of the books he ever had read. And I remember in a large discourse of this nature, he said, "I will ingenuously confess to you, I have denied a good scholar his grace at Cambridge, for the choice of his question, because I thought there had been some spirit of malice in it; which if I were in the same charge, I should now grant it him, because I know he had a discerning spirit."

Latitudinarians.

These reflections make me heartily sorry that we have a new word of distinction come up amongst us, viz. Latitudinarian; the ill consequence whereof we may in the future feel, if it be not well expounded by those good and learned men to whom it is assigned; for this too often falls out, that in future ages

those that take up the title, retain not the moderation of the first assertors.*

As the good archbishop I write of had these great eminences, so he may be acknowledged to have failed in those prudences which belong unto a great minister of state, who, like a wise physician, is to consider times and seasons, as well as persons and diseases, and to regard those complications which usually are mixed in ill habits of body, and to use more alterative than purgative physic; for popular bents and inclinations are cured more by a steady than precipitate hand or

Wherein
the great
and good
archbishop
seemed defective.

* Latitudinarians was the name originally given to those divines who were afterwards called Low-Church Men. Dryden uses the term in his *Hind and Panther*, as applied to Burnet, Stillingfleet, &c., while he thus apostrophizes the Church of England:

"Your sons of latitude, that claim your grace,
Though most resembling you in form and face,
Are far the worst of your pretended race;
And, but I blush your honesty to blot,
Pray God you prove them lawfully begot!
For in some popish libels I have read,
The wolf hath been too busy in your bed;
At least their hinder parts, the belly piece,
The paunch, and all that Scorpio claims, are his.
Nor blame them for intruding in your line;
For bishoprics are still of right divine."

Dryden's Hind and Panther, Part III.

counsel, multitudes being to be drawn over from their errors, rather by ways they discern not, than by those which they are likely to contest, whilst upon single persons and great men courses of violence and authority may be exercised. But ministers of state unwillingly run this course, because they would have the honour of perfecting the work they affect in their own time, and the multitude of this good man's business, and the promptness of his nature, made those ceremonies which are necessary by great persons, to be paid unto men in his station, to be unwelcome unto him, and so he discharged himself of them, and thereby disobliged those persons who thought their quality, though not their business, required a patient and respectful entertainment. This I reflect upon, because I heard from a good hand that the Marquis of Argyle making him an insidious visit, and he knowing he neither loved him nor the church, entertaining him not with that frankness he should have done, but plainly telling him he was at that time a little busy about the king's affairs, this great lord took it so much in indignation, and esteemed it such a lordly prelacy, that he declaimed against it, and became (if possible) more enemy both to him and the church than he was before. The

rectitude of his nature therefore made him not a fit instrument to struggle with the obliquity of those times ; and he had this infirmity likewise, that he believed those forward instruments which he employed followed the zeal of their own natures, when they did but observe that of his : for as soon as difficulty or danger appeared, his petty instruments shrunk to nothing, and shewed from whom they borrowed their heat.

He weighed not well his master's condition, for he saw him circled in by too many powerful Scots, who misaffected the church, and had joined with them too many English counsellors and courtiers, who were of the same leaven. If he had perceived an universal concurrence in his own clergy, who were esteemed canonical men, his attempt might have seemed more probable than otherwise it could ; but for him to think, by a purgative physic, to evacuate all those cold slimy humours which thus overflowed the body, was ill judged ; for the good affections of the prince, backed only by a naked or paper authority, sooner begets contumacy than compliance in disaffected subjects. And if this authority served him not but with difficulty to master that great prelate, Williams, Lord

Bishop
Williams.

Bishop of Lincoln, (who understood a court with more sagacity than he did, and who was as high in spirit as he had been in his place, having borne the great seal of England, and who, if he had been looked on in his inside, was more a discontented courtier than an uncanonical bishop, notwithstanding his Coal from the Altar,) so as, in a word, the contests between these two great prelates expressed a temper which became neither of them :^{*} nor if his authority served not without the same

^{*} This great prelate, who held the seals after the fall of Bacon, and made a distinguished figure in state intrigue during the reigns of James I., and his unfortunate son, was reckoned no friend either to Laud or to the ceremonies which he introduced into the church. Upon this subject he published, in 1636, a tract entitled, "A Letter to the Vicar of Grantham," which was answered by Peter Heylin, in a pamphlet called, "A Coal from the Altar," to which Bishop Williams replied, in a book bearing this quaint title, "The *Holy Table*, Name, and Thing more anciently, properly, and literally used under the New Testament, than that of *Altar*. Written long ago, by a Minister of Lincolnshire, in Answer to Dr Coal, a judicious Divine in Queen Marie's Days. Printed for the Use of the Diocese of Lincoln, 1637, 4to." Heylin made a rejoinder, under the title of "*Antidotum Lincolnense*," and the prelate would have continued the controversy, but about this time the royal displeasure, which had long threatened him, was displayed in the seizure of his

difficulty to bring Prynne, Burton, Bastwick, and Leighton, to their just sentence, but their prosecution rather served to create envy, than deter any from their scandalous practices, it might justly have cautioned him, when the time came, from irritating this malignant humour in Scotland; which was too likely to be poured into the veins of England; for this maxim is never to be forgot by the state physician, *Malum benè positum non est movendum*; if the stone lie quiet in the body, provoke it not by diuretics. And this shall suffice to be said of that well-intentioned, but not truly considerate great man, unless we add this single thing further, that he who looks upon him through those canons, which in synod passed in his time, will find him a true assertor of religion, royalty, and property; and that his grand design was no other than that of our first reformation, which was, that our church might stand upon such a foot of primitive and ecclesiastic authority, as suited with God's word, and the best interpreters of it, sound reason and primitive practice.

books and person. In this controversy concerning the place and name of the communion table, Clarendon remarks, that the bishop displayed much good learning, though less gravity than became his place and function.

And until this nation is blest with such a spirit, it will lie in that darkness and confusion the sects at this time have flung it into.

The character of
Bishop
Juxon.

Having thus described one great churchman, we may the more fitly make mention of another, because they were so intimate and bosom friends, and because this first is supposed to have introduced the last into that eminent emploment of lord treasurer. Had nature mingled their tempers, and allayed the one by the prudence and foresight of the other, or inspirited the other by the zeal and activity of his friend, Nature had framed a better paste than usually she doth, when she is most exact in her work about mankind; sincerity and integrity being eminent in them both. This reverend prelate, Dr Juxon, then Bishop of London, was of a meek spirit, and of a solid and steady judgment; and having addicted his first studies to the civil law, (from which he took his title of doctor, though he afterwards took on him the ministry,) this fitted him the more for secular and state affairs. His temper and prudence wrought so upon all men, that though he had the two most invidious characters both in the ecclesiastical and civil state, one of a bishop, the other of a lord treasurer, yet neither drew envy on him, though the humour of the times tended

to brand all great men in employment.' About the year 1634, the Lord Portland died, and

* From the diary of Laud, it appears that Juxon was sworn clerk of the closet at his special request, "that he might have one that he could trust near his majesty." And how much he gloried in procuring for his friend the treasurer's staff will best appear from the following memorandum:—"1635, March 6, Sunday, William Juxon, Lord Bishop of London, made Lord High Treasurer of England, no churchman had it since Henry 7th time: I pray God bless him to carry it so that the church may have honour, and the state service and contentment by it: And now if the church will not hold up themselves, under God I can do no more."

Notwithstanding this high strain of self-congratulation, upon a step which he concluded so beneficial for the church, Laud's policy, in filling up so high an office in such a manner, will appear suspicious, when the importance of the situation, and the expectations of the powerful nobles, who looked upon it as their birth-right, are fully considered. Clarendon informs us that Juxon's promotion did not only increase the general envy and malice against Laud, but did even, although unjustly, indispose many towards the church itself, which they looked upon as a gulph ready to swallow up all the great offices of the state. Yet the fair and moderate demeanour of Juxon gradually abated the odium occasioned by his ill-judged promotion; and Lord Falkland, in a bitter speech against the bishops at the beginning of the Long Parliament, could not but give him this fair testimony: "That in an unexpected place and power, he expressed an equal moderation and humility, being neither ambitious before, nor proud after either the crozier or white staff."

the treasury was put into commission, by which means the true state thereof became distinctly to be known ; and in the year 1635, this good and judicious man had the white staff put into his hand ; and though he found the revenue low and much anticipated, yet withal meeting with times peaceable and regular, and his master inclined to be frugal, he held up the dignity and honour of his majesty's household, and the splendour of the court, and all public expences, and justice in all contracts ; so as there were as few dissatisfactions in his time, as perchance in any, and yet he cleared off the anticipations on the revenue, and set his master beforehand. The choice of this good man shewed how remote it was from this king's intentions to be either tyrannical or arbitrary ; for so well he demeaned himself through his whole seven years employment, that neither as bishop or treasurer came there any one accusation against him in that last parliament, 1640, whose ears were opened, nay, itching after such complaints. Nay, even after the king's being driven from London, he remained at his house, belonging to his bishopric, in Fulham, and sometimes was visited by some of the grandees, and found respect from all, and

yet walked steadily in his old paths.* And he retained so much of his master's favour, that when the king was admitted to any treaty with the two houses' commissioners, he always commanded his attendance on him; for he ever valued his advice. I remember that the king being busy in dispatching some letters with his own pen, commanded me to wait on the bishop, and to bring him back his opinion on a certain affair: I humbly prayed his majesty that I might rather bring him with me, lest I should not express his majesty's sense fully, nor bring back his so significantly as he meant it; and because there might be need for him further to explain himself, and lest he should not speak freely to me; to which the king replied, "Go, as I bid you, if he will speak freely to any body, he will speak freely to you: This (the king said,) I

* Bishop Juxon's firmness appears from his advising Charles to encounter every extremity of popular fury, rather than assent, against his conscience, to the attainder of Strafford. And his moderation may be judged from his enjoying a freedom from the persecution of the triumphant party, to which the rest of his order were strangers. He was not deprived until 1649, nor was any complaint or accusation brought against him, either as statesman or bishop, in that parliament, which gave ample encouragement to such denunciations.

will say of him, I never got his opinion freely in my life, but when I had it I was ever the better for it." This character of so judicious a prince I could not omit, because it carried in it the reason of that confidence that called him to be his majesty's confessor before his death, and to be his attendant on the scaffold at his death ; so as all persons concurring thus about this good prelate, we may modestly say he was an eminent man.

The important transactions of state, between 1628 and 1640, to be found in the following characters of several great men.

Having fallen into this method of setting forth the nature of the seed, by the temper of the mould or ground it grew in, the rest of the most important actions in this period of time, *viz.* between 1628 and 1640, will be found in the characters of the chief agents in those times, *viz.* the king's assistances unto the King of Sweden, in the character of Marquis Hamilton, who was the hinge on which turned all the Scotch affairs, and whose service the king used in quenching the flame of their first commotions and after-rebellions; unto which, whether he brought water or oil, was to most men doubtful, but both to him and them the fire was at last destructive ; and in the character of the Earl of Strafford will be involved the state of Ireland in that time : and in the Earl of Northumberland's character falls in all our naval affairs, especially

that interruption we gave unto the Hollanders in their fishing on our seas, and their submission to exercise it by our license and leave, paying a small duty ; and in his time of being admiral, an account of the great affront we received in permitting the Dutch fleet to attack the Spanish, even in our own ports and Dover-road.* Which disreputation, as likewise the first dishonourable pacification made with the Scots, ministered gross food to nourish the ill humours of designing and innovating persons ; and the last preparations against Scotland, though chiefly managed by the Earl of Strafford, as lieutenant to the Earl of Northumberland, general of that expedition, being as unfortunate as the former, made way for all those subversions of government and miseries of this people, which the councils in the parliament begun in November, 1640, brought upon this land.

* Charles lost much credit abroad, greatly incensed the Spaniards, and diminished the lustre of his crown, by conniving at an attack made by De Ruyter upon the Spanish fleet, when at anchor in the Downs. The Dutch admiral, despising the neutrality of the British roadstead, fell upon the Spaniards with great fury, and drove twenty-three ships on shore, forcing the rest, thirty in number, to put to sea for their safety, of which number only ten escaped being captured. This happened in September, 1639.

The king's
progress in-
to Scot-
land.

In the year 1633, strongly invited there-
unto by the Scots, the king resolved of a pro-
gress thither, in order to his coronation. But
before we bring him on his way in that jour-
ney, we will give some little account how the
state of affairs stood then betwixt him and
his nobles, and betwixt him and his ecclesi-
astics.

The state
of the re-
formation
of the
church of
Scotland.

The reformation of the church in Scotland,
being made in the minority of King James,
and the eyes of the nobility and gentry being
stronglier fixed upon the church-lands than
upon any other part of that design, it may well
be conceived their proceedings therein could
not be very regular; and though by act of
parliament the lands of the cathedral churches
and religious houses were given to the crown,
yet, by the craft and connivance of the Earl
of Murray, then regent, and not by any grant,
these lands were shared among many of the
nobility; and by this means the nobility op-
pressively lorded it over their vassals, and
gave the clergy so poor stipends, that it was
very scandalous; and the crown, thus defraud-
ed, had no means to relieve them. Queen
Elizabeth made politic uses of the factions
and disorders of those times, and therefore
rather reproved than redressed them. How-
ever, she was forced to tell them, unless they

would make some conformity of their church unto ours, she could not so well, or so heartily own them against the French, who powerfully appeared in behalf of their queen, as they found it necessary for her to do, and they made her large promises therein, which she contented herself with, and afterwards not much more looked after. For the disorders of one state are the advantages of another, and they, like ill-natured greedy surgeons, put back a wound with one plaister, which they had forwarded towards a cure by another. But King James, when he was come to ripe years, like the true father of his country, sincerely sought the remedy of their disordered reformation, and really affecting what Queen Elizabeth proposed in the year 1596, towards a conformity of the two churches of England and Scotland, procured an order from an assembly at Aberdeen, for composing a liturgy and a new book of canons ; this was six years before he came to the crown of England. And in the year 1606, he obtained another at an assembly at Perth, which was four years after his access to this crown ; so as both before and after he struggled for the same thing, and he obtained that the Lord's supper should be received kneeling, and an authority for the use of some other decencies

in church affairs ; and Marquis Hamilton, the father, being his commissioner in the year 1612, by the regal authority settled thirteen bishops in that kingdom ; whereof three were ordained by the bishops in England, and those three ordained all the rest in Scotland. All which is thus early set down to shew that, though unfortunately King Charles went on with Queen Elizabeth's and his father's design ; and what not only the clergy, but many great lords there now countenanced, and too probably was advanced by that well-meaning, but not sufficiently cautious prelate, Archbishop Laud, yet neither this king nor this archbishop began it.*

* The reformation in Scotland began in popular insurrection, but the greedy and poor nobles were soon drawn into it by the hope of sharing in the spoils of the church. Knox the reformer saw with pain the ecclesiastical revenues carried off by these intractable auxiliaries. In his Book of Discipline he had proposed to appropriate the revenues of the popish church to the support of the protestant clergy, and the endowment of colleges for the education of youth in every considerable town. But when he presented this plan to his patron, the Earl of Morton, that wily peer observed with a cold smile, that it was a *dévout vision* ; nor could all the influence of Knox or of his brethren extort a ratification of the Book of Discipline from the privy council.

The episcopal order was gradually re-introduced into the kirk by naming archbishops, bishops, &c., from among

Nor was this the true cause of the discontent ; for this king had early taken notice of the depredation made in regent Murray's time, and of the weak title of the great men there to those lands ; and in behalf of the crown, and of the poor clergymen, and of the miserable vassals, and yet not without respect unto the present owners in confirmation of their title, upon all these grounds he issued a commission to examine this matter : but this was so resented, that it was noised to be an endeavour to introduce popery, and to reduce Scotland (like Ireland) into the form of a

The true cause of the tumults and rebellion of the Scotch covenanters.

the clergy ; but the avarice of the courtiers required that these dignitaries should previously make over the principal part of the revenues of the see to their lay patrons. And thus, under cover of episcopacy, the nobles secured to themselves by far the larger share of the church revenues. James VI., however, availed himself of the slender fragments which he found remaining, to rebuild, at least in some sort, the Scottish hierarchy. After much opposition, and by many gradual advances, he at length succeeded in restoring to the bishops some authority in the church, and finally obtained the consent of the General Assembly to what are commonly called the Perth Articles, ratifying the ceremonies of kneeling at the communion, of private communion, of private baptism, of confirmation of children, and of observation of festivals. But this foundation was too newly laid, and too slight, to bear the superstructure with which the haste of Laud would have loaded it.

province. However, the Scots seemed very eager for the king's coming among them ; but our statesmen should have liquidated these differences, before they should have thought of this journey of his majesty's ; for the king ought to have entered that country like a river that overflows an hungry ground, and leaves some silt behind it ; but putting them rather to expences by the emulation of the apparel and feastings, which, for the honour of their nation, the Scots very nobly performed, when the king went back, they were very sensible of their expences, and found vanity left emptiness, and an hungry spirit is always a complaining one ; and they knew England was not like to yield them such a harvest in this king's reign as it had done in his father's. And the king, during his abode there, having used in his own chapel the liturgy of the church of England, was made believe he might in the future fix that service there : but this was but used as a leaven to swell and puff up the populacy, and by such means rather to seize on what the church held, than to restore any thing which wrongfully the lay-lords had usurped.

Marquis
Hamilton's
character.

Having said thus much of the state of the Scotch affairs in general, we will now return to the great man, Marquis Hamilton, who had

the great influence on them. The family of the Hamiltons is of an high and noble descent in Scotland, and are supposed to be nigher in blood unto the crown, than is that of the family of Lennox; but I shall not intermeddle in that heraldry. The person of the father I knew at court in the latter end of King James's time, and in the beginning of this king's reign; he was a goodly, proper, and graceful gentleman, and generally esteemed, as well by the English, as beloved by the Scots. He fed his own greatness and pleasure, more than busied himself in intrigues or designs at court. He had two sons, James and William; neither of them so graceful persons as himself, and both of some hard visage: the elder of a neater shape and gracefuller motion than his brother; however, I was in the presence-chamber at Whitehall, when, after his father's death, he returned from his travels, and waiting on the king from chapel with great observance, and the king using him with great kindness, the eyes of the whole court were upon the young man; his hair was short, and he wore a little black callot-cap, which was not then usual;* and I wondered

* This style of dress resembled that adopted by the puritans, and was doubtless uncommon among the long-haired cavaliers of the court of Charles I.

much that all present, who usually at a court put the best characters upon a rising man, generally agreed in this, that the air of his countenance had such a cloud on it, that nature seems to have impressed *aliquid insigne* : which I often reflected on when his future actions led him first to be suspected, then to be declaimed against. I have lately seen the memoirs of a countryman of his, who is master of a very good pen, and who hath represented this great man by a light which few others, either of his own nation or ours, discovered him by ; willingly I would sully no man's fame, especially so eminent a person's, for to write invectives is more criminal than to err in eulogies.' And for myself, I was

¹ Sir Philip Warwick alludes to Bishop Burnet's Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton. The biographer, from his affection to the family, labours to remove those clouds of suspicion which the versatility of the duke's conduct threw upon his character in the opinion of the royalists. There is, indeed, no room to think that the duke meditated any formal treason against the indulgent and affectionate master in whose cause he at length laid his life down. But there is great room to believe that he gave way to the disturbances in Scotland, with the prospect of advancing his own ambitious designs, and under the fatal delusion so common among politicians, that he could at any time stop the stone which he had himself assisted to put in motion. The result of these dark and

known unto him, and ever civilly treated him; however, I must concur in that general opinion, that naturally he loved to gain his point rather by some serpentine winding, than by a direct path; which was very contrary to the nature of his younger brother, of whom that gallant loyal peer, the Earl of Montrose, was wont to say, that even when this gentleman was his enemy, and in arms against the king, he did it open-faced, and without the least treachery either to his majesty or any of his ministers,—a character worthy of a great man, though deflecting from duty.¹

and fluctuating politics were a restless and unfortunate life, concluded by a violent death, and followed by a dubious and suspected reputation.

¹ To the openness of the Earl of Lanerick's character, which in this particular formed a contrast with that of his brother, the Duke of Hamilton, their reverend historian has borne testimony:—"As for those princes whom he served he had even as much justice from fame as his heart could wish, since none did ever fasten any ill characters on him in that particular, except that little which was done at Oxford. But he who of all living knew his brother best, acknowledged that in this he had the better of him only by fame, and that the longer he lived he discerned the more wisdom in his designs, and honesty in all his counsels: but that which made the difference was, that his temper was more forward, and he often spoke out those resentments which his brother either had not with so much passion, or chused to bury in his breast."—BURNET'S *Memoirs of the Dukes of Hamilton*, p. 421.

His marriage with a niece of the Duke of Buckingham.

Master of the horse to the king.

He married the niece of the Duke of Buckingham, the daughter of the Earl of Denbigh, who, from a private gentleman of the house of Fielding, was raised to this title, having married the duke's sister, for he took pleasure in advancing his kindred. Upon what occasion I know not, but not long after, it being supposed upon some discontent, the marquis retired into Scotland; but after the duke's death he was recalled, and made master of the horse, as he was gentleman of his majesty's bed-chamber; and had a large proportion of his majesty's favour and confidence, and knew very dexterously how to manage both, and to accompany the king in his hard chaces of the stag, and in the toilsome pleasure of the racket; by which last he often filled his own and emptied his master's purse, and though he carried it very modestly and warily, yet he had a strong influence upon the greatest affairs at court, especially when they related unto his own country. So, as though the Duke of Lennox was the greater man, and likewise a very well qualified gentleman, and of great probity and sincerity, as his actions evidenced even unto and after the death of this good king, yet Hamilton was the polar or northern star.

The first public action he moved in, was in assistance of the King of Sweden, who, in the year 1630, invaded Germany, encouraged and assisted therein by the French, who at that time were digging even at the root of the Austrian family; for the emperor was grown very great by a numerous and powerful army, which the pretence of the Palsgrave, our king's brother-in-law, unto the elective kingdom of Bohemia, had given him opportunity to raise, and his speedy successes against this unfortunate prince made those forces the more formidable unto the electors and lesser princes of the empire, which both Spain and the emperor himself perceiving, those forces in a great number were not only disbanded; but the emperor's general, Wallestein, a down-right soldier, (and of so saturnical a disposition, nay, some thought ambition, that the very empire was the object of his eye,) laid aside; and yet the jealousy of the emperor's greatness was still kept up, so as by this disbanding of the emperor's forces, and the like of the King of Denmark's, who had improperly managed a war upon his neighbouring skirts of the empire, the King of Sweden got opportunity to raise a considerable army of veteran soldiers. Our king was unwilling openly to appear against the emperor, for he

His first public action in assistance given to the King of Sweden by his majesty.

had some hope to restore his brother-in-law by treaty ; nevertheless, reflecting how his father had in that kind been often deceived, he thought it not amiss to give way that Marquis Hamilton should raise 6000 men, half Scotch and half English, to strengthen Sweden ; and privately the king furnished Hamilton with 100,000*l.* for that service.

Meldrum
and Ramsey,
his
confidants
and crea-
tures.

Hamilton had his eye no sooner on this design, but he had sent away beforehand a subtle statist, one Meldrum, into one part of Germany, and David Ramsey, a great Hector, both Scots, into another. Ramsey was a gentleman of the privy chamber unto the king, and lived by his majesty's table and exchequer : and yet both were so ungrateful, that they opened their mouths with derogatory words against the king's person and government, which words were so well known and proved unto the king, that he expressed very sharply his displeasure unto the marquis against them both ; and upon return unto court of the Lord Mackay, a man of great honour, and a very good soldier, he mentioned words of a deeper design said unto him by Ramsey ; which being denied by Ramsey, who made the proposition to Mackay, a trial by combat was demanded and accepted, and

a court-martial erected. But during the same trial, the king lodged Hamilton most commonly singly in his bed-chamber, to express his confidence in him ; and at last the martial court was interdicted, and the combat forbid.

The marquis with his small army being a little before shipped off, he landed his men at Elsinore. Sir Henry Vane, his great confidant, by his means was at that time English ambassador with the King of Sweden ; and old Lesly, who was at that time a chief commander in the Swedish army, was sent by that king with some veteran forces to conduct the marquis into Silesia : so as we see how long Vane and Lesly, the Scotch general in the succeeding Scotch rebellion were his creatures. But to decline particulars, his English and Scotch army in a short time, without the least considerable action or loss, were reduced into two thin regiments, and put under two Scotch colonels : and he returns himself into England, and it may be well supposed these poor remains of men soon mouldered away like the rest.

His landing at Elsinore.

Upon his return he would sometimes merrily say, he had learnt no High Dutch, but one proverb, *Ein bernhertziker soldat ist ein hön-*

His return into England.

~~foot forr~~ ~~Godt~~ :¹ or, “A merciful soldier is a rogue in God’s repute.” However, the king graciously received him into his old employments and favour. It was part of Mac-kay’s charge that Ramsey would have drawn him over to the devotion of Hamilton, who might at one time or other lead an army into England. The kingdom of Scotland singly could have been no bait (though a crown be a deceiving object,) unto him; but the disturbances in England, which might have been well foreseen, might prove a good market both for him and all his party. Settled then in his majesty’s favour, and reaping all the benefits of it, we will now quit him until the year 1637 and 1638, when the tumults and uproars in Scotland bring him upon the stage again; and his crafty managing thereof, by the sentence of those who a little before had murdered his master, soon after brought him to the scaffold.

The Lord
Strafford’s
character.

The Lord Viscount Wentworth, lord president of the north, whom the Lord Treasurer Portland had brought into his majesty’s

¹ More accurately.—Ein barmherziger soldat ist ein hundsfoß vor Got.

affairs, from his ability and activity, had wrought himself much into his majesty's confidence; and about the year 1632, was appointed by the king to be lord deputy of Ireland, where the state of affairs was in no very good posture the revenue of the crown not defraying the standing army there, nor the ordinary expences; and the deportment of the Romanists being there also very insolent, and the Scots plantations in the northern parts of that realm looking upon themselves as if they had been a distinct body. So as here was subject matter enough for this great man to work on, and, considering his hardiness, it may well be supposed that the difficulties of his employment, being means to shew his abilities, were grateful to him; for he was every way qualified for business, his natural faculties being very strong and pregnant, his understanding, aided by a good fancy, made him quick in discerning the nature of any business, and through a cold brain he became deliberate and of a sound judgment. His memory was great, and he made it greater by confiding in it. His elocution was very fluent, and it was a great part of his talent readily to reply, or freely to harangue upon any subject; and all this was lodged in a sour and haughty temper, so as it may probably be be-

His natural
parts
strong.

His temper
somewhat
sour.

lieved he expected to have more observance paid to him than he was willing to pay to others, though they were of his own quality, and then he was not like to conciliate the good-will of men of the lesser station.

His acquired parts excellent.

His acquired parts, both in university and inns of court learning, as likewise his foreign travels, made him an eminent man before he was a conspicuous; so as when he came to shew himself first in public affairs, which was in the House of Commons, he was soon a bell-wedder in that flock. As he had these parts, he knew how to set a price on them, if not overvalue them: and he too soon discovered a roughness in his nature, which a man no more obliged by him than I was, would have called an injustice; though many of his confidants, (who were my good friends, when I, like a little worm, being trod on, would turn and laugh, and under that disguise say as piccant words as my little wit would help me with,) were wont to swear to me that he endeavoured to be just to all, but was resolved to be gracious to none but to those whom he thought inwardly affected him: which never bowed me, till his broken fortune, and, as I thought, very unjustifiable prosecution, made me one of the fifty-six who gave a negative to that fatal bill which cut the thread of his life.

He gave an early specimen of the roughness of his nature, when, in the eager pursuit of the House of Commons after the Duke of Buckingham, he advised or gave a counsel against another, which was afterwards taken up and pursued against himself. Thus pressing upon another man's case, he awakened his own fate. For when that house was in consultation how to frame the particular charge against that great duke, he advised to make a general one, and to accuse him of treason, and to let him afterwards get off as he could, which befel himself at last. I believe he should make no irrational conjecture, who determined that his very eminent parts to support a crown, and his very rugged nature to contest disloyalty, or withstand change of government, made his enemies implacable to him. It was a great infirmity in him, that he seemed to overlook so many as he did ; since every where, much more in court, the numerous or lesser sort of attendants can obstruct, create jealousies, spread ill reports, and do harm ; for as it is impossible that any power or deportment should satisfy all persons, so there a little friendliness and openness of carriage begets hope and lessens envy.

In his person he was of a tall stature, but stooped much in the neck. His countenance

*His stature
and mien.*

was cloudy whilst he moved or sat thinking ; but when he spake, either seriously or facetiously, he had a lightsome and very pleasant air : and indeed whatever he then did, he performed very gracefully. The greatness of the envy that attended him, made many in their prognostics to bode him an ill end, and there went current a story of the dream of his father, who being, both by his wife, nearest friends, and physicians, thought to be at the point of his death, fell suddenly into so profound a sleep, and lay quietly so long, that his wife, uncertain of his condition, drew nigh his bed to observe whether she could hear him breathe, and gently touching him, he awaked with great disturbance, and told her the reason was she had interrupted him in a dream which most passionately he desired to have known the end of. " For," said he, " I dreamed one appeared to me, assuring me that I should have a son, (for till then he had none) who should be a great and eminent man : but — and in this instant thou didst awake me, whereby I am bereaved of the knowledge of the future fortune of the child." This I heard when this lord was but in the ascent of his greatness, and long before his fall : and afterwards, conferring with some of his nearest relations, I found the tradition was not

disowned. Sure I am that his station was like those turfs of earth or sea-banks, which by the storm swept away, left all the inland to be drowned by popular tumult.

At his coming into Ireland, he disposed all His govern-
ment of
Ireland. his business into so good a method and order, and kept up so the state of that court, that it was a good resemblance of his master's; which at that time was the most regular and splendid court in Christendom, (set aside the King of France's military and numerous guards,) and he so settled all the benches of justice, that by able and upright judges the decrees and dispatches there were very just and expeditious; yet he was too apt to draw some particular businesses out of their proper channel unto his own jurisdiction; the instances whereof as they are to be found in the articles of his charge, so by his answers thereunto it will appear that his determinations upon those cases were not so much his fault as his haughtiness to amplify his own authority. He brought the army unto its just number; and as he was very careful of its pay, so he was very exact about their discipline, which quelled the stubbornness of the natives, and quashed their hopes of innovating in state, or spreading of their religion: for from a forward insolence he soon reduced

them to a modest and private exercise of their Romish profession; for the deputy was a sound protestant himself, and endeavoured to regulate the Irish church unto the English, and by the learning and piety of the good Archbishop of Armagh, and the solidity of his two confidants, Dr Bramhall, Bishop of Londonderry, and Dr Margetson, with the other learned bishops and divines there, he brought that church into a great, and good state; and his influence was so extensive, that that great and considerable body of Scots, which inhabit about Ulster, and are as it were a self-subsisting corporation, and totally presbyterians, carried a greater awe to the government, than in some time before they had done. Trade he enlarged very much, which brought both industry and wealth to the nation, and, as he managed it, a good increase of revenue unto the king's exchequer: which, through many revived rights and well-weighed particulars, he so increased, that the revenue of the nation defrayed the whole charge of it, and he was enabled to remit a considerable sum of money, about 20 or 30,000*l.* over hither, which for many ages before had been a charge unto this kingdom. He set up several beneficial manufactories, especially those of yarn and flax; which design, if he had had time

to have gone on in, he certainly would have brought to good effects. And as he was very careful by all ingenious and politic means to profit the nation, he governed it so like a good Englishman, that he endeavoured to make that correspond with the advantages of England, and to keep the dependencies of that crown on this. In doing all this, and in vindicating the rights and revenues of the crown, it was unavoidable but he must displease some great men, as the Earl of Cork, who from a very private gentleman (having early and long been in that kingdom,) had raised the most considerable estate of any great man, (native or foreigner) there, Viscount Ranalagh, and Annesly Lord Mountnorris, vice-treasurer; (which in that kingdom in effect is treasurer,) and if over these the lord deputy made some inspection, it is no marvel he had so little of their good, and so much of their ill-will, as they afterwards in his troubles shewed.

Unavoidable it is, but that great men give great discontents to some, and the lofty humour of this great man, (whose foible it was to be too often embroiled in those ungrateful and entangling disputes, which the Latines call *Simultates*, bickerings, or animosities, which lie cold and heavy in the stomach, and break forth only when one party hath the advantage

Embroil-
menst with
several
great per-
sons of that
kingdom.

over the other) engaged him too often, and against too many in that kind; and particularly one with the old Chancellor Loftus, which was sullied by an amour, as was supposed, betwixt him and his daughter-in-law. But with these virtues and infirmities we will leave him, ruling prosperously in Ireland, until his own ambition or presumption brought him over into England, in the year 1638, to take up a lost game, wherein he lost himself.

The Earl
of North-
umber-
land's cha-
racter.

The Earl of Northumberland's concern in these affairs was very disastrous to the king, by the great trust he put in him, even by the means of the last lord whom we have so freely characterized.* He was of an high-born fa-

* The reader ought to have an opportunity of comparing the character here given of this great peer, with that which Clarendon has drawn with his usual precision :—"Of those who were of the king's council, and who stayed and acted with the parliament, the Earl of Northumberland, in respect of the antiquity and splendour of his family, his great fortune and estate, and the general reputation he had amongst the greatest men, and his great interest by being high admiral of England. Though he was of a family that had lain under frequent blemishes, of want of fidelity to the crown, and his father had been long a prisoner in the Tower, under the suspicion of having some knowledge of the gunpowder treason, and after he was set at liberty by the mediation and credit of the Earl of Carlisle, who

mily, descended by his paternal stock from Charles the Great, by Josceline, a younger

had without and against his consent married his daughter, he continued to his death under such a restraint that he had not liberty to live and reside upon his northern estate : Yet this lord's father was no sooner dead, than the king poured out his favours upon him in a wonderful measure ; he began with conferring the order of the garter upon him, and shortly after made him of his privy council ; when a great fleet of ships was prepared, by which he meant that his neighbour princes should discern that he intended to maintain and preserve his sovereignty at sea, he sent the Earl of Northumberland admiral of that fleet, a much greater than the crown had put to sea since the death of Queen Elizabeth, that he might breed him for that service before he gave him a more absolute command. And after he had in that capacity exercised himself a year or two, the king made him Lord High Admiral of England ; which was such a quick succession of bounties and favours as had rarely befallen any man, who had not been attended with the envy of a favourite. He was in all his deportment a very great man, and that which looked like formality, was a punctuality in preserving his dignity from the invasion and intrusion of bold men, which no man of that age so well preserved himself from. Though his notions were not large or deep, yet his temper and reservedness in discourse, and his reservedness in speaking, got him the reputation of an able and a wise man ; which he made evident in the excellent government of his family, where no man was more absolutely obeyed ; and no man had ever fewer idle words to answer for ; and in debates of importance he always expressed himself very pertinently. If he had thought the king as much above him,

son of Godfrey, Duke of Brabant, who married the daughter and heir of Percy ; yet this family was noted often to be unsteady to the crown. But this gentleman being a graceful young man, of great sobriety and regularity, and in all kinds promising and hopeful to be an eminent ornament to the crown, the king cast a friendly, nay, a fatherly eye upon him, and was observed to use him with respect as well as kindness ; and from being master of the horse to the queen, about the year 1636 made him lord high-admiral of England, as great a trust as could be put upon any man, and enough to have purged a blood that had some taint in it. He was in this year sent out to sea with a navy of about 60 ships, to

as he thought himself above other considerable men, he would have been a good subject ; but the extreme undervaluing those, and not enough valuing the king, made him liable to the impressions which they who approached him by those addresses of reverence and esteem, that usually insinuate into such natures, made in him. So that after he was first prevailed upon not to do that which in honour and gratitude he was obliged to, (which is a very pestilent corruption,) he was with the more facility led to concur in what, in duty and fidelity, he ought not to have done, and which at first he never intended to have done. And so he concurred in all the counsels which produced the rebellion, and stayed with them to support it."—CLARENDON'S *History*, Oxford 1703, fol. II. 156.

interrupt the Holland fishing on our coast and on the North Seas, he took many of their busses, and dispersed others ; which brought the states-general to make such an application to the king, as might in the future obtain his licence and permission, which the king conceived a vindication of his right and dominion. Yet, though some particular busses paid for their licences, the terms of agreement were like nails well driven, but not well clenched ; so as our neighbours were not fast held, and it made them more susceptible of obstinate counsels from France, who were at that time undermining our peace by Scotland. For both France and Holland dreaded the consequence of ship-money, which if our own nation had perceived the good effects of, they would not, when they met in parliament, so eagerly have quarrelled as they did. But to this day we bear not the scars of such contentions, but the wounds, for it was then in their power not only to have secured our seas, but our liberties ; which accommodation neglected hath cost us even to this day much treasure, much blood, and much dishonour, and may be yet more fatal, if so unnecessarily (as it is still) prerogative and privilege be made a ball of contention.

A naval
expedition
toward the
Mediterranean.

During this noble lord's regimen in the admiralty, a naval expedition was made into the Mediterranean Seas, of the several accidents of which I shall not here stop to make any mention.

The Dutch
fleet upon
our coasts
afterwards.

As the last expedition was very honourable, but remote from us, so the action we are now to mention was too nigh us, and as dishonourable, for it was an affront given us in our own ports. For the Spaniards, low in their estate in Flanders, in the year 1639 had equipped a considerable fleet of about sixty ships, to bring money, recruits, and other necessities, for those countries under the Spanish government. These the Holland fleet met with, under the command of their great admiral, Vantrump, with half their number; but being light, and fitted only for warlike action, and he so great and good a seaman, and the winds scant for the Spaniard's port at Dunkirk, he drove them into our road and port of Dover, where the English royal fleet, or ordinary guard lay, under the command of Sir John Pennington, vice-admiral. Upon confidence of our guarding or defending our own ports, the Spaniard trifled away too much time; for both fleets being our friends, he supposed that we were obliged in honour to succour the weaker. But the king harassed

by his own subjects; and the admiral favouring the popular party; and having a secretary, one Mr Smith, highly infected with presbyterian principles, (though he had no more temperance or piety than his neighbours; which is observed only that princes may consider the influence subordinate servants may have on their affairs intrusted in the hands of their chief ministers,) was forced to a resolution of sending to the Spanish admiral, of not depending on the sanctuary he had taken. And Vantrump, who too probably understood our resolution, and being in this time strengthened by as many more fresh ships as he had at first, even in our very ports attacked the Spaniard; which had we been resolute, and strengthened our fleet; as those of Holland did theirs, that admiral would have considered twice before he had acted once; and a true-spirited English admiral would have reflected more on his master's, his nation's, and his own honour, than to be so unconcerned as ours was. But the sequel of this story, when we shall find this great lord, contrary to his prince's command, (who had, so much to his honour, entrusted his navy with him) delivering it up into the hands of the Earl of Warwick, for the service of the two houses,

Attacking
the Spaniards
in our
ports.

and not unto Sir John Pennington, as the king required, will explicate all this riddle.

The rise
and conti-
nuation of
the Scotch
tumults and
rebellion.

If we look back unto the year 1637, we shall find the true reason why his majesty was forced so dishonourably or tamely to permit his ports to be violated in the year 1639. For before this time the Scots had totally subverted both their ecclesiastical and civil government, and so linked and confederated themselves with the discontented party in England, who had the same affection to a like change, that his majesty's authority signified very little; for from the year 1633, in which his majesty had been in Scotland, unto the year 1637, his majesty strongly affecting a conformity betwixt the two churches, and desirous to pursue the same on the grounds laid before by his royal father; and having before him a liturgy, designed in his father's time for the Scotch nation; which liturgy differed not much from ours, (only it had excluded those lessons taken out of the Apocrypha, and made use of the last version of the Psalms, and other parts of the Bible, to make it the more inoffensive; some other changes were made, as the word *presbyter* was used instead of *priest*, &c.) they, who resolved to reject the whole, would not be

pleased with the alteration of a part ; so as when, about the latter end of July, 1637, that this common prayer-book came to be made use of in the king's chapel, the principal bishops, officers of state, nobility, and magistrates being present, the rabble or populace, first by noise, then by violence, set upon the minister, then even on the bishop in the pulpit, who ascended it to quiet that brutality ; and afterwards as they endangered in the streets the Bishop of Galloway, so, to make the disguise less discernible, the Lord Roxborough and Traquair are said to be pursued ; but a little time pulled off this vizard. And the like riot was used in other churches where this service was endeavoured to be read. The lords of the council issued out proclamation after proclamation, seemingly to uphold the king's authority, but indeed it was to expose it : for soon after many of the nobility, burgesses, and ministers, not only petition, but protest against it ; and as if all the stones had been hammered before, and, the timber squared, they are immediately fitted to erect a new frame of government : and like Achitophel's counsel, their first act is to make the breach so wide, that there might appear no way for reconciliation. For, as it were, wholly casting off the king's sovereign-

ty, they set up their own, by appointing (as they called it) four tables of councils, by which the whole government was to be managed, and here the most envenomed and disobedient refractory persons were placed in the chairs. And, that religion might seem the prime care, they debate upon the confession of faith, subscribed by King James and his household, in the year 1580, which exceeded a national confession which was made twenty years before; as likewise they reflected on that confession which was made in the year 1590, which was then occasioned by the Duke of Lennox his coming over out of France unto King James, who finding great favour with that king, the duke being a Roman catholic, the Scots of those times then raised a new jealousy: and a necessity must further appear to revive once again this before-mentioned covenant of 1580, and to enlarge it with that which they called "The great band for maintenance of the king's person, and the true religion," and was likewise the negative confession, because therein they abjured the authority of the pope, transubstantiation, &c.

The Scotch
band or
covenant.

To renew all which was not now sufficient, for in this year 1637, the men of this age not only revive the confessions of 1580 and 1590,

but make the band or covenant without the leave of the king, making it so extensive that the king himself was not excepted to be opposed, nor his authority further to be maintained, than in defence of the gospel and liberties; and then they knew that they should be interpreters, when he defended or offended either, and they further conjured or obliged by this oath each to defend the other. Thus one evil draws on another, and must be defended by another, and a first unwarrantable engagement necessitates them to enter into a second, which is more disloyal: and an unlawful oath before God, because it seems to be made in behalf of God, must pretend to supersede conscience, and discharge subjects of that duty which they owe to princes, and in them to God, under colour of God's cause. Episcopacy, the canons, the articles of Perth, the high-commission court, the service-book, and all that King James or King Charles had done about the church, must now be totally overthrown and eradicated, or there must be no peace in Israel; and to stop this current, the Marquis Hamilton is sent as commissioner. Whether this torrent was the brutish unnatural descent of the waters of populacy, or the artifice of the great nobility, (among whom Hamilton had so many nigh and great friends)

which broke the sluices and pulled up the flood-gates of those laws, which before kept the populacy and presbytery in their due bounds, is a question too hard for any man of another nation to determine. For this people were too much favoured, and too politic in themselves, to admit Englishmen to be counsellors and spies upon their actions in that kingdom, as some of them are of interest and power among us ; so as, from Queen Elizabeth's time to this day, they may be truly said to have walked by a dark lanthorn, whereby they saw all our affairs, and yet did move undiscerned by us in any thing they did design.

The design of the pretended godly, but really rebellious covenanters.

And now from this time appears a scene of so much falsity and impudence, the one to deceive the people by words, which carried duty in them towards the king, and by expressions which seemed to have no other aim, but purity of religion and public utility ; and the other humbly to supplicate, but really to force the king to grant every thing they had the boldness or disloyalty to demand ; that all the addresses, or the lines that were in their petitions, were like those pictures which, looked upon through some glasses, one way represent an angel, and another set forth a devil.

It is no doubt but such deceitful oaths and covenants, as these before mentioned, had been long before practised ; for whatever is the child of a deceitful heart, very probably hath been the early practice of mankind. But the first time I met with it in any considerable history, was in the temptation which false and disloyal Antigonus, one of Alexander's great captains, used unto faithful and loyal Eumenes, another of them, to debauch him from his loyalty to Alexander's children ; for Antigonus's ambition being as large as Alexander's, he had a great mind to have dispossessed the other great captains, and to have singly set up himself, and to draw over Eumenes to his party, and to have confirmed him to himself by oath. But, says Sir Walter Raleigh, in his story of it, Eumenes perceiving the meaning of Antigonus, (for that the oath in a few words mentioned the king and princes of the blood, rather to keep the decorum, than upon any loyal intent, the binding words and sum of all the rest being such as tied him fast only to Antigonus, omitting the reservative duty unto the king, or any other of Alexander's children) rejected the same. Such difference there is between an honest and a loyal heart, and a perfidious and disloyal one. And Eumenes's case

Former deceitful oaths and covenants.

was the case of those dutiful subjects, who, both in Scotland and England, rather chose to suffer for and with their prince, than join with the treachery of those who were undermining his throne.

This covenant was imposed upon the whole nation under grievous punishments.

The Scotch covenant being thus set up among themselves, and imposed upon the whole nation, and made so penal to any that scrupled to take it, that it could not be refused without loss of benefices to the clergy, and offices and sequestrations to the laity, the body of the whole people as it were appearing then in a commotion, the loyal and the prudent found that they were no way able to stem the tide, and were all quiet and in silence. This was so represented from Scotland hither unto court, that Marquis Hamilton is hasted away hence thither to compose differences : and thus, said some, the king sent oil to extinguish flame.

Hamilton sent into Scotland to quiet these tumults,

He arms himself with such power, that if he granted all he might do, the king's concessions were sure to weaken his prerogative and government; and it was managed so, that whatever he offered was rejected, and thus the king was left as devoid of honour as power. For the king offered by proclamation to have pardoned all they had done, but they would not receive it but by a parliament;

and the proclamation offered unto this end becomes a new grievance ; for when the king expressed himself therein, that the fear of innovations had led them to act as they had acted, they disown it, and say that it was actual innovation. The king allows them an assembly ; here they will not admit of the archbishops, bishops, &c., as members of the society, but as criminals. The commissioner seems enforced to dissolve them ; they assume an authority to continue it, or to convoke another. And here they sit by his leave till they had abolished episcopacy, and then, though they permit the commissioner to dissolve them, confirming the covenant, &c., yet, by their own authority, they order that there shall be annual assemblies and parliaments when they should find reason.

Soon after, as the first step to open rebellion, the governing party in Scotland, make a declaration unto all Christian kings, in justification of themselves. They write and treat particularly with the King of France, with whose great minister, Cardinal Richelieu, they had had too long before too straight an intelligence. And then they call home their old commanders from abroad, viz. Lesly, Hamilton's old friend, and divers others, and put themselves into an open posture of

Their rebellion open and rampant.

war. They seize upon the castle of Edinburgh, fortify the Frith, and get into their hands the strong castle of Dunbriton.

The king's army raised in England, to quell the rebel Scots. Earl of Arundel general.

Earl of Essex lieutenant-general.

The king now resolves to reduce them by arms, nominates for general the Earl of Arundel, earl marshal, a noble, loyal, and knowing person, and of an high-born family, but neither of a warlike disposition nor experience : a Romanist, (but not so declared) and so not over zealous to set up a liturgy in Scotland, and one whom Vane had a great and a long interest in. And the king appoints the Earl of Essex his lieutenant-general, who was no ill soldier himself, and valued much among the men of that profession : a man formerly much disobliged at court,¹ and of such a natural confused spirit, that he was not able to discern the ill consequences of his indifferency to the crown. Nor was the court artificial enough to make that right use of him which his interest among the soldiery, and his blunt plain English nature, might have been formed into by a seeming confidence in him. And some fresh small disobligements in this expedition, made him afterwards susceptible of

¹ By the infamous usage he received in the divorce pursued against him by his countess, for the purpose of uniting herself to the favourite Somerset.

very ill impressions, which he took in this employment; and evidenced the same, when, so fatally to himself and the crown, he received the commission of being general of the rebellious army, raised by the Long Parliament against their sovereign. The Earl of Holland was made general of the English horse, a man fitter for a shew than a field: he was a younger brother of the Earl of Warwick, (a popular man, and a person disaffected to the church,) and so was another brother, the Earl of Newport, (a very weak and faithless person,) who had likewise a command in his army.

Earl of
Holland.

Earl of
Newport.

To make up this scene the more compleat, Hamilton must be a distinct general both by sea and land, and with a good fleet must block up the Scotch seas; and to my knowledge he promised so to visit his countrymen on their coasts, as that they should find little ease or security in their habitations. For he had three good English regiments on board him; but the very choice of his ships shewed he had more mind to make war upon the king's treasure, than on his own country or countrymen: for he had chosen some of the second and third rate, whereas the least frigates would have done the greatest service: thus, by the very bulk of his ships, obliging himself to an

Hamilton,
a distinct
general
both by
sea and
land.

inactivity. One might well have expected that he that had so prodigally, as a commissioner, lavished his majesty's honour, and trunhinged the government, would have vigorously employed those forces under his command to have restored both, and that a man of his importance would have found some party ready to have countenanced and assisted him: but instead thereof, when he comes and anchors in the Frith, his mother, (a violent-spirited lady and a deep presbyteress,) comes on board him, and surely she had no hard task to charm him. Afterwards the great ships, like the great formidable log let down to be a king, lying still, he had several visits from many of the great men who were most active against the king, as if he had been rather returned from an East-India voyage, than come as a powerful enemy. And my Lord Southesk began to chaffer with him for some of his wares, and asked him what propositions he had to make, so as they looked on him rather suing for a peace than making a war. But when the stork Cromwell was sent to subdue and govern this disloyal people, his ships were lighter, but his arms heavier. He takes in the Frith, afterwards runs up with his ships unto Inverness, or those parts, and cuts off all communication betwixt

the north and south of Scotland; insomuch as he forced our present king, Charles the Second, afterwards defeated at Worcester, rather to march into England upon necessity than choice. Had the marquis had the same zeal to his master's service as Cromwell had, he had as fair a design by aiding Marquis Huntley, an honourable and truly loyal person, who was then raising in the north considerable forces for his majesty's service. So as that which the English navy in Cromwell's time stopt, this great lord might have brought down to his majesty's aid if he had pleased, or diverted those pretended forces which Hamilton, by his sluggish anchoring in the Frith, alledged he did.¹ For, in reality and truth,

Great failures of Hamilton in point of fidelity and conduct, and

¹ The following paper of instructions, or hints, drawn by Thomas Hamilton, and sent by the king to the duke, show plainly that the same course, afterwards successfully adopted by Cromwell, was recommended by the king to his inefficient general:—

“The river of Nesse is large and deep, falleth out of a lake named Nesse, 24 miles long, and five or six in depth, into a great bay of the sea. On this river standeth the town of Innernesse, which hath a strong castle in the keeping of the Marquis of Huntley, as yet not taken; if in this town and castle were put a competent garrison, with a ship and pinnace in the bay, you might break the ferry-boats, and stop all passages from northward of that river.

“The river of Tay falleth out of a lake ten miles long,

the king's army was more powerful, and better provided by much than were the Scots in

and one and a half broad, from which the river hath the name, which is the great and only passage between the north and south parts of the kingdom. This river falleth into the east sea below Dundie, the biggest town almost in Scotland. At the entry to the sea it is two miles broad, and continueth the same breadth upward till within three or four miles of Saint Johnstown, between which town and Dundie there are 16 miles and above, at no part whereof there is any passage but by ferry boats. If a few ships would ride at the mouth of the river below Dundie, and send up some small pinnaces, they might break all the ferry boats and stop all the passages that could be made over at any part between the north of the river and the said town of Saint Johnstown, above which to the lake the said river is not rideable but at some few fords, the passages whereof might be kept by the noblemen who stand well-affected to his majesty's service, and whose estates do ly thereabouts in Strathern: such as the Earls of Airly, Perth, Tullibardine, and Kinnoul, who, if they were sent home with a competent number of soldiers to attend them, all those of their name, their friends and tenants, gathered unto them, might stop all land-passages whatever from north to south.

“ And in case the people of Fife, who dare not now cross Forth river in regard of your majesty's ships, should march with supply by Sterlin-bridge to Lothian, these noblemen, with their forces, might be in some narrow passage in their way; and if they could not force them to retire, yet they might fall upon their country in their absence, so that they could not both be able to defend their sea-coasts, and secure them from danger on their back; neither durst

their greatest body: but where fate hath determined, every thing conspires to hasten a ruin, and the English must play their parts as faint-heartedly, and probably as falsely, in one great man as it had in another.

For the Earl of Holland, the ill-chosen general of the English horse, was appointed, with the flower of that body, to face the Scotch army, whose horse were inconsiderable, and whose foot were ill-appointed and very numerous. So as the country being in a good measure open, the English horse being fresh, vigorous, well-appointed, and in the generality forward to serve the king, and maintain the honour of their nation, he, without trying

in the Earl
of Holland.

they all turn back on Strathern, for fear that those of the fleet should land on their shores in their absence.

“The shire of Perth would be a rendezvous and safe retreat to all those of Fife, Angus, Strathern, and the Highlands, who upon this proclamation shall abandon the covenanters’ party, and stand for his majesty’s service.

“These four noblemen, with the number your majesty will send with them, might be sent almost to their dwellings by sea on the said river.

“If the town of Sterlin were seized, these river passages made sure, and the town of Aberdeen secured in regard of your majesty’s forces in the north, no harm could be expected from beneath Leith.”—*Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, p. 128.

the metal of either side, makes a retreat, which he was sure he could have done when he would, after he had given but a good ruffle to some part of the Scotch forces. Thus the English credit sunk down, and the Scotch rose; and Hamilton, lest he should appear too much an inactive person or faineant, and that he might clear his ships of their crammed number, had sent away two of his regiments to secure the Holy Island, a place of import enough, but not in that conjuncture. Had he sent all his land-forces to strengthen the king's army, with a counsel to have fought his countrymen, it had favoured more of loyalty and courage.

The pacification.

The very above-mentioned Memoirs shew that he brought on the pacification; for he proposed, before he came, that some of the covenanters might attend his majesty in his camp in order thereunto; yea, and that he himself might quit his navy, and come and attend his majesty. And for all this, Sir Henry Vane, the interloping secretary, was a most proper instrument, for through his hands all the trifling intelligence which Hamilton had given to amuse the king, both of his own and the Scots proceedings, had passed, and those answers which the king wrote not with his own hand passed Vane's, (who, God knows,

was an ordinary penman,) but his letters still had some mark of the king's, that in the future they might not be disowned. For all which, thanks were given to Hamilton for these services, by which he had brought the king into a seeming necessity of this pacification. All this while, fighting English-hearted Earl of Essex lay unemployed, who would have given a better account of our horse had he commanded them, as¹ did the Earl of Holland; for he with a commanded party marched up and uninterruptedly garrisoned Berwick, though the Scots lay then at Dunse, not far off. But our good king being not sufficiently resolute to hazard, and seeing his affairs through no better a medium of light than those great officers of his army which we have before described, it is no marvel, after Hamilton was come to the camp, that the dishonourable pacification soon ensued. For indeed the king personally appearing no more concerned for his own regal authority, and being then attended by my Lords Say, Brook, Wharton, and other presbyterian and independent spirits, who were commanded to attend upon the person of the king in this war,

¹ i. e. Than.

that they might do no mischief at home in his absence, they did much more here: for being asked by the king what they thought of the actions of the Scots, they took a liberty of justifying them by not censuring them; for they replied, they knew not what they had done. When the king told them how they had seized his castles, &c., they still replied that they knew not the constitution of that government, so could not judge them. Upon which the king committed them; but that raised their credit more than abated their liberty. Thus we see by what hands the root of this dishonourable pacification was planted; and the fruit of it was, that all that Hamilton before as a commissioner had done was now confirmed, and a promise made that the ecclesiastical affairs should be determined by the assemblies of the kirk, and their matters civil by the parliament; and then they promise in all things to carry themselves like humble and faithful subjects. And (to shew how little they were like to observe their pacification) though they disband the main body of the army, yet they keep their chief commanders in pay; and though they render up the castle of Edinburgh, yet they will not let the king's commander repair even breaches of the old wall or fortifications, much less

erect new.' Nay, to shew what expositions they would make of some of the articles just upon his parting, even when he was on horseback, they foist into the hand of the Earl of Pembroke, lord chamberlain of his majesty's

“ Having got the castle of Edinburgh into his hands, he advised the king to trust Gen. Ruthwen (who had returned from the German wars loaded with fame) with the keeping of it; to which his majesty consented. And this may sufficiently clear the marquis of all other designs but those his duty inspired him with; since to the greatest trust in Scotland, considering those times and the command the castle has over Edinburgh, he recommended one whose loyalty was as invincible as his courage. But the marquis having visited the castle, found it in the worst case imaginable, not a musquet but one in it, and it not for service; very little powder, and not a yard of match. The buying the command of the castle made so great a noise that he durst not proceed to the furnishing it with men, victuals, and arms, all which were wanting, till the first heats were over, and the body of the covenanters had gone to Glasgow; for besides that they set guards about it, had they set upon it they would have infallibly carried it, by starving them within, who were able to do them no hurt. Ruthwen would not go to the castle till it were better furnished, neither did the marquis think fit to change the captain of it too soon. But finding him no covenanting, and having taken his oath in writing, which is yet extant, never to surrender it but with his life, he laid down the best course he could for furnishing it; which he got no opportunity to do, as we shall see hereafter.”—*Memoirs of the Duke of Hamilton*, Lond. 1677, fol. p. 90.

household, (a man then of good affections, though afterwards he grossly fell, but of no greater intellect than courage) a scandalous paper, which shewed how little they were like to observe their articles,

Another
parliament
in Scot-
land.

But meeting presently after in parliament, where the Earl of Traquair is made the king's commissioner, (of whom we may say he was the most versatile man in Scotland, for I had the honour to know him well, and converse him often,) under him they attempt no less changes in the constitution of the parliament, than they had before in the regal and episcopal government; for now the former rebellious and contumacious spirit seems rather heightened by successes than abated by condescensions and impolitic concessions; and therefore the ancient and useful usage of the lords of the articles, who prepared bills for parliament, and which for hundreds of years before had been practised, and other subverting things of this nature were to be cased and laid aside; whereby there was imposed a necessity on the king either to have given them their swing for a time, and to have waited for an opportunity to reclaim them, or expect whether they would invade him, or whether he should forthwith, with a more

powerful army, and with a steadier resolution than his former, attempt them.

And now, as if the oracle at Delphos had been to be consulted, the great lord lieutenant of Ireland was to be sent for; but, instead of being made a dictator, he is made but one of the triumviri: and the consult of this great affair chiefly henceforward depends on the archbishop, the marquis, and himself. This was evidence enough that Hamilton (as the Memoirs paint him out) was esteemed by his master rather unfortunate than treacherous, and lay undiscerned to those two great Englishmen, else surely they would never have incorporated with him; so as we may say that these two had neither well consulted the state of Scotland, nor that of England. For the archbishop being re-engaged, most men looked on it again as an ecclesiastic expedition; and Hamilton re-employed, they expected that in the same man would be found the same heart; and the Earl of Strafford being freshly come in, most men both envied his greatness and feared his prosperity. The Scots seemingly startle at all this, and but seemingly, for they knew whom they had about the king. For Hamilton had got leave to hold intelligence, under pretence of his majesty's service, with some of the chief co-

Strafford
sent for in-
to Eng-
land.

venanters ; and the Lord Lowdon, among other commissioners, coming up with a petition, upon pretence of diverting the storm, (for they had sent up a petition that they might be admitted to petition) which the king replied was very unnecessary, since every private subject had that free leave, much more a kingdom. But here the commissioners insisting upon unreasonable demands, the king expressed how unlike it was their intentions were good, when they sent such a man as Lowdon, who at that time had wrote to the King of France under his own hand, (which was produced against him) to favour their proceedings. Whereupon he was committed to the Tower ; but by Hamilton's artifice and means (in respect Lowdon was a commissioner) he was soon after freed.

Lowdon, one of the Scotch commissioners, put into the Tower, and soon after freed.

Cardinal Richelieu embroils Scotland.

Thus the wise French Cardinal Richelieu embroils us, and in the mean time made his advantages on Spain and Flanders, which interest all that time our king endeavoured equally to balance. For the cardinal's chaplain, a Scotchman, was known to be often among the confederates ; nay, and Hamilton's chaplain to be often with him and others. The intelligence which Hamilton, by permission of the king, held with the confederates, afterwards rose to that height, that Traquair him,

self, without naming Hamilton, offered to prove by as good men as any were in Scotland, how grossly by one of the junto his majesty's counsels were betrayed, (if advertising them what the king intended, before the king had made his own dispatch, and directing them what to answer were betraying counsel.) Herein I was made an instrument, but did never name Traquair; but neither Strafford nor the archbishop would entertain the accusation, because it was proposed upon no less conditions than that when the great men's names were made known that would make good this accusation, Hamilton should be sequestered from the king's person, and not lie in his bed chamber as he did, when the Lord Mackay accused his agents. But our two English great lords were apprehensive that this was but a trick to make a breach between them and Hamilton, by too readily entertaining a jealousy of him, and therefore rejected it.

Hamilton
accused for
holding in-
telligence
with the
covenant-
ers.

One thing more did really give a disturbance to Strafford; for the queen, by her too powerful influence, upon pretence that old Secretary Cook, superannuated, was grown inactive, had removed him and brought in Sir Henry Vane to be secretary, whom Strafford not only distasted but despised, and Vane

Sir Henry
Vane made
secretary.

could never forgive Strafford for taking the title of Raby, which was then his seat or habitation, purchased from the crown, and consequently his ambition, but by descent or blood the other had the fairer pretence. With this untempered mortar the poor king was to build in a most stormy season; for Vane being now secretary, and consequently a member of the junto council, and a creature of the queen's, and a confidant both of Marquis Hamilton's and of the Earl of Northumberland's, and a man of no clear head, but a bustling, subtle, forward courtier in affairs of this magnitude, it is no marvel, that when the counsel of the Earl of Strafford mentioned the new-raised army in Ireland, as a means to reduce the disaffected Scots, this undistinguishing head or negligent hand of the new secretary, who ought not to have taken notes of discourses, but results of council, applied that to the kingdom of England, which was and could not otherwise be applicable singly than unto Scotland, as all the rest of the junto upon oath afterwards asserted; and yet this was made the great article of treason against Strafford. So dangerous a thing it is for a prince that is not both inwardly revered, and generally feared, to have a body of council made up of disagreeing members. To do

the Earl of Strafford right, he had as wisely projected all things for carrying on a war, as so hasty a resolution could be backed with; but he soon found the Scotch proverb true, "Chalk is not scissars;"^{*} for if any part of his projection failed, the rest tumbled down. Before he left Ireland he was warranted to call a parliament there, and by it he found means (besides the standing army of that kingdom) to raise a flying one of about 8000 horse and foot, that he might awe the Scots, they being to be transported upon them as opportunity or occasion might be ministered. When he came over hither, his first projection was to raise money to raise an army; and his second, that a parliament might be called to give money to maintain this body; for he supposed all men well-affectioned unto, and sensible of the king or kingdom's honour, nay, of both their securities, when France was perceived abetting a Scotch rebellion, would be of the like zeal with himself, not considering how many misaffected English there were even in the court, and that the same great men who miscarried in the de-

^{*} Alluding to the mode in which tailors chalk out their plan before cutting it out.

sign in a former summer, were not like to promote his successes in a succeeding; so dangerous it is for one great man to take up the lost game of another. We had a fatal experience of it not many years since in our naval engagement with the Dutch; for the soldiery, at least commanders, being to be re-employed, they are too likely to be found dividing themselves into factions.

A new
army raised in England to
march against the
Scots.

However, the design being laid open by his majesty in council, and the lord lieutenant on the one hand, and the Lord Traquair on the other, haranguing upon it, and expressing the injustices of the covenanters, their violations of laws, and subversion of government, with the ill consequences thereof, even unto this kingdom; (both these great men being great orators, but I was told the Scot was the more concise and significant) the lords of the council, to give testimony of their own duty, and to give example to others, subscribed every one to lend the king a considerable sum; the archbishop 10,000*l.*, the keeper as much, and the Duke of Lennox, from the sincerity of his nature to his master's service, his sonship to the church, and his detestation of a rebellion, unexpectedly (for he was not beforehand in his fortune) offered 40,000*l.*, (which myself taking notice of to him, and be-

ing in some good measure well acquainted with the posture of his affairs at court, I remember he smilingly replied, "I will serve the king in his person, though I carry but his cloak, as well and as cheerfully as any in the greatest trust,—"reflecting on Hamilton,) the lord lieutenant lent 20,000*l.*, the lord treasurer 10,000*l.*, and so it went through the board, none lending there less than 5000*l.*, and the farmers as considerably advance their rents, and many private officers and gentlemen brought in their proportions. And indeed the lord treasurer's credit, (the revenue being not anticipated) with all those supplied the place of the present bankers, whose proper appellations were then brokers, not bankers, by depending on a just repayment, made most men's loans easy, because the reimbursement was supposed certain. And though times like a torrent soon broke in upon all those who were well-affected to the king's service and the constituted government, yet most of the lenders to this war were repaid, and those that were unpaid were repaid by his present majesty; which was a clear evidence that stopping his exchequer upon his own debts was no part of his nature, who had opened it for his father's.

General
officers.

Materials being now provided, officers for the army are now to be agreed on, and that was principally the province of the lord general, the Earl of Northumberland, and the Earl of Strafford, his lieutenant-general; and here they stumble at the threshold, for they agree upon the Lord Viscount Conway, (a great confidant of the general's) a man of Epicurean principles, and a great devourer of books and good cheer, and who lay under some reflection since the action at the Isle of Rhe, to be general of the horse. The rest of the chosen military men, as Wilmot, and Goring, and Ashburnham, and O'Neal, &c., were merry lads; and none of them good willers to Strafford, but more the Lord Holland's dependants, a greater man on the queen's side than his, which made them so froward towards him.

English
parliament
in 1640.

And now an army being levied, and officers appointed to head them, and some money raised to maintain them, and the time come for the English parliament to meet, his majesty acquaints them with the present state of his affairs, and gives them the usual assurances and gracious promises which are commonly made upon such occasions, and tells them he expects from them supplies suitable

to the necessities of his engagements and present condition. And here, if the court had been true to itself, this senate was so well composed, that the major part assuredly were well inclined to have made a right understanding betwixt king and parliament: which was as much the aim of Strafford, as was the satisfaction of his other ambitions at court.

But the most active and disaffected members of this House of Commons, enabled by Vane to affright the more sincere with the Irish army, and with the ill consequences of successes against the Scot, and Vane proposing the king, who was willing to lay down for ever the crown's claim to ship-money, (which was so legally determined in his behalf) to have no less in lieu thereof than twelve subsidies, (though it is said he had commission to have fallen to six, which he used not) put a general damp amongst them. However, this would not have amounted to a million of money, and which was afterward an ordinary illegal annual tax, imposed by the same leading men in this parliament, in the next parliament to maintain a rebellion against the prince. So as we see their tenderness proceeded not from the care of the people, but from their stubbornness towards, and resolution to restrain and reduce the au-

Dissolution
of the par-
liament.

thority of the crown. And with these artifices, it is said, they so inclined the major part of the house, that they were ready to address to the king to let fall the Scotch war, which the court impatient of, though they met but on the third of April, resolved to dissolve them, and on the fourth of May, 1640, accordingly they were dissolved; and soon after the Earl of Northumberland, upon pretence of indisposition of health, (who had Vane more for his confidant than Strafford, and whose credit, had he been hearty to the service, would have been of great use not only to have tempered, but to have fixed the late house of parliament) lays down his generalship. Had he done the like for his admiralship, he had served the king indeed; for this quitting his commission was so sudden, that neither the king, who took upon him to be generalissimo, nor the Earl of Strafford, who then in effect would have been general, had sufficient time (dispatching here the affairs that were necessary for the army) to get up to them before the Scotch army were under march, (under pretence of delivering a petition to his majesty) and ready to enter into England; nor do they appear to have considered, whether in this fermenting state the Lord Conway's zeal would sufficiently steel him (Northumberland

being withdrawn) with an English valour, to beat back the Scots, who now resolvedly advance, and had sent to Conway to have leave to come and deliver a petition to his majesty; who replied, they might do it with a few persons, but upon their approach about August, he guarding a pass at Newborn, with a party only of 3000 foot and 1200 horse, the rest of the English army being with Sir Jacob Ashley at Newcastle, (which place to take in was the design of the Scots, and Conway here beaten from his post, and Newcastle not tenable,) the army march back toward York, and Conway, with his beaten troops, soon joined them. He looks not far into the milstone that discerns not that an English confederacy can inspirit a Scotch army; and that when the English please to fight in a field, as they did at Marston-moor, when Goring charged that body; or defend a place, as they did at Hereford, when the Scots singly attacked it; or fight a battle, as they did at Dunbar, in the Scots own country, but they can exercise their usual and old valour upon that nation, with whom being now in conjunction, and under one sovereign, it had been much better they had both strove to shew their loyalties than their courages upon

Scots enter Eng-
land.

one another. And now there is no place left for further paraphrasing on this subject, but what may be expressed by interjections or condolment, or with the prophet to say, "Ah Lord!" for things thus advanced to shew their confederacy, all sides of the net are drawn at once, and petitions from the great lords of England, from the city of London, from the Scotch commissioners and army, and from what not, encircle the king at York, and all for another parliament, and Strafford's wisdom seems amated. For, as a good historian says, "Great improsperties deprive a man of half his understanding at once:" which might appear now in that he gave way, that this parliament, which was to quiet a Scotch invasion, should be held at London, and that he, in a confidence of his own innocence, being then the mark shot at by all-powerful envy, should rather choose to answer for himself in such an assembly, than to endeavour to make more steady unto the king's interest the English army, and to leave that under his majesty's own guidance, and retire himself into Ireland, where he had a competently numerous, well-disciplined, and faithful army to his majesty's person and government, and to himself. But henceforward we are to look upon a new scene, and that so

often varied, that with great Porus, the Indian king, then captive to Alexander, we may smile to think how frail the felicity of mankind is, or, *quam caduca sit felicitas humana*.

The king being at York, called his great council thither. A treaty is held at Ripon betwixt the English peers and some Scotch commissioners ; and there a cessation of arms is agreed on, and quarters and contributions assigned unto both armies : and to shew the good intelligence between them, the Scots make new professions of their loyalty to the king, and of their brotherly kindness to the English nation ; but withal declare they will not lay down their arms until the reformed religion was settled in both nations, *i. e.* until the church of England was conformed unto the kirk in Scotland. And this seems their province through the remainder of this story, as the change of the civil government seems to be left unto their dear confederating English brethren. And now both parties chime for a parliament, Twelve of our great men, *viz.* the Earls of Bedford, Hartford, Essex, Warwick, Mulgrave, Bolingbrooke, Bristol, and the Lords Say, Brook, Paget, Mandevil, and Lord Edward Howard of Escrick, representing the ill state of the kingdom, had petitioned for a parliament. The Scots do

Treaty at
Ripon.

the like, for we must seem to be beholding unto a Scotch army for an English parliament; and the city of London are as forward with their petition as any of the rest; but the king gave them all one answer, that they had desired nothing but what he had resolved on before. Whilst he stayed at York, the Earl of Montrose, though then eminently engaged in the Scotch army, having written a dutiful letter only unto the king, with general expressions of loyalty and good affection; such faithful attendants the king had about him, that the substance of it by one of his countrymen was soon sent back to Lesley, the Scotch general, who challenging Montrose with holding intelligence with the enemy, he undauntedly owned it, asking who it was that would reckon the king an enemy? and with this bravery quashed this charge. How improbable an account of the discovery hereof the Memoirs give, may be there read.

Scotch
commissioners
at
London.

The king retires to London, and Scotch commissioners are sent up thither, and they, both by the parliament and city, are looked upon as angels of light; and they frequent the congregations of the chief dissenting presbyters, who, from all quarters of the kingdom, flow up to this city, as if they were to convert an unsanctified heathen nation; and Ti-

mothy and Titus are upon all occasions proved not to have been bishops, as a distinct order from presbyters, and the rites of the church of no better appellation than superstitious, and the bowing at the name of *Jesus* hath a book written against it with no less title, than *Jesus Worship Confuted*; so as if a Mahometan had heard it cried in the streets to be sold, as it was, (as I heard a gentleman say passing by) surely he might justly have thought this nation at that time was denying their Saviour.

The third of November, 1640, the deplo-
rable and dismal parliament met, and their
meeting was evidence enough to shew, that
those councils which should assist and obey,
and which cast off subordination, and will-rule,
and prescribe laws, are as certain a means to
destroy a nation, as in the regularity of their
constitution they are a hopeful means to set-
tle it. They had now no restraint upon them,
and therefore soon, like a deluge, they over-
flow and sweep away all that broke their cur-
rent.

The Long
Parlia-
ment.

The Scotch commissioners, and the great
pretending patriots in both houses, make it
their first resolution to accuse the Earl of
Strafford, that so wise a man might be remo-
ved from the king, and all others intimidated,

The Lord
Strafford
accused.

A close
committee.

And that they might make way to do it home, (for I would put all this business together, though I break the series of time) they first vote a close committee, which was opposed by divers, and much stomached at by an old factioner, who was then my neighbour in Westminster, Sir Peter Haman of Kent ; alledging, that was to make the rest of the members see by other men's eyes. I remember I laughed at him, to put him in mind of his own former proceedings, (for he was one of the men that kept the speaker in his chair,) and I said, " Every parliament must out-pitch the other by a bar."

Strafford
accused of
high treason
by the
commons.

This being previous unto the earl's accusation, Mr Pym, the next day after the earl was come to town, (for the parliament had sat some few days before he came) in the name of the commons now assembled in parliament, and in the name of all the commons of England, accuses the earl unto the House of Lords of high treason, saying, that within few days they would resort to their lordships with particular articles ;^{*} and the business was so well laid,

^{*} Principal Baillie, one of the Scottish commissioners, gives the following account of this remarkable scene :—
" All things go on here as our hearts can wish. The lieu-

that the lords not reflecting how it might concern themselves, or their own posterities in

tenant of Ireland came but on Monday to town late, on Tuesday rested, on Wednesday (11th of November, 1640,) came to parliament; but ere night he was caged. Intolerable pride and oppression calls to Heaven for a vengeance. The lower house closed their doors, the speaker kept the keys till his accusation was concluded. Thereafter Mr Prynn went up with a number at his back to the higher house; and in a pretty speech did, in the name of the lower house, and in the name of the commons of all England, accuse Thomas, Earl of Strafford, Lord Lieutenant of all Ireland, of high treason; and required his person to be arrested till probation might be heard: so Mr Prynn and his back were removed. The lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the lord lieutenant, where he was with the king; with speed he comes to the house, he calls rudely at the door; James Maxwell, keeper of the black rod, opens; his lordship, with a proud glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board head, but at once many bid him void the house; so he is forced in confusion to go to the door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel; and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod to be prisoner till he is cleared of those crimes the House of Commons had charged him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. In the outer room James Maxwell required him as his prisoner to deliver his sword. When he had got it, he cries with a

the future, upon this general accusation put the earl into a state of a malefactor, *i. e.* committed him as a prisoner to the black-rod, who otherwise could have given good bail or security for his appearance and answering the charge. But this removal is pretended as a right due to an accusation flowing from a House of Commons. Nay, the lords are so forward to promote this accusation, that the commons prevail upon them to examine witnesses upon oath against the Earl of Strafford, even before a particular accusation was brought in against him; which is (as hath been said before) trailing for a hare, or accusing a man first, and then finding particulars to ground

loud voice for his man to carry my lord lieutenant's sword. That done he makes through a number of people towards his coach, all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have discovered, all crying, What is the matter? He said a small matter, I warrant you. They replied, Yes, indeed, high treason is a small matter. Coming to the place where he expected his coach, it was not there; so he behoved to return that same way through a world of gazing people. When at last he had found his coach, and was entering, James Maxwell told him, Your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach, so he behoved to do."—*BAILLIE'S Letters*, Edin. 1775, I. 217.

it on. And since this was an accusation of high treason, it was as triable by indictment in the inferior courts as by impeachment before the lords; but as there was need of judges, who could assume arbitrary power, and not be questioned for it. And, indeed, in this case arbitrary power was highly made use of, for the whole cause upon the impeachment was heard at length, and articles of superfoetation, or additional articles admitted; and when the witnesses and their proofs in this case were openly read before the sworn judges of the land, (who only sit in that house as assistants to the lords,) yet when sentence was ready to be given, that whole judicial proceeding was let drop, and a legislative one taken up; and upon the bill of attainder, which charged this earl with treason, a case was framed, not from the proofs and witnesses of the first impeachment, but from the apprehensions and judgment of the fact made by the lords, and the lords being not tied to frame a case from the proofs made against this great man, they had little skill if they could not form one that the judges must be necessitated to agree was treason. And thus what is arbitrary and tyrannical in a prince, must be accounted legal and formal proceedings in a great council; and Magna Charta,

Impeached
and tried
before the
lords.

After-
wards at-
tainted by
bill.

and the Petition of Right, which are bulwarks against the sovereign, must be of no shelter against fellow-subjects. Which puts me in mind of (as he called it) a legacy of Sir Robert Holborn's, that loyal and great lawyer unto the king, who, when the king was in the Isle of Wight, a very little time before he was seized on, sent him in a paper this advice, (which paper I had the custody of,) that he was sorry his majesty was in that condition; but for himself he was at that time dying, and therefore as a last legacy he would give his majesty this advice: If ever he came unto an agreement with the two houses, that in behalf of the crown, and of the subjects in general, he would make it an article, that the two houses should be as well sworn to maintain or ground their proceedings upon, or by the laws in being of the kingdom, until new ones repealed or varied those laws, as the kings were sworn unto them at their coronation. These generals may suffice to lead us into this great man's trial.

Proceeding
by im-
peachment
upon several
articles.

The particular articles against him were many, and for my design too long to be set down, and are to be found in those that write the history of that time, which agrees not with my compendium. But the chief were these:—

That, as president of the council in the north, he had said that some of the justices of that country were all for law; but they should find that the king's little finger should be heavier than the loins of the law: but this proved a pure inversion of his words, shewing, that the little finger of the penal laws, if pressed on them by the king, would be heavier than the loins of the prerogative.

That, in derogation of his majesty's good government, and to disaffect that people, he had said Ireland was a conquered nation, and his majesty might do with them what he pleased; and that the charters granted unto Dublin or any other corporation bound the king no longer than he pleased.

That by a council of war he had passed sentence of death upon the Lord Viscount Mountnorris, vice-treasurer of Ireland. Of how little import these last charges were may appear by his answer. Indeed, in that of Mountnorris's business there was much of stomach and tumour, or perchance indiscretion, but little of blood. He was further charged,

That he had levied upon the inhabitants of several towns, and upon other persons, monies by troops of soldiers and force of arms. But all this is proved to have been no more

than what his predecessors had exercised before, and even one of his then accusers at the bar, the Earl of Cork, who had been one of the justices of that realm, had practised. It being only used when the Irish would absent themselves from their homes, and not answer unto or obey the justice and sentences of the judicial courts.

But, to consummate all, comes in the charge extracted out of Sir Henry Vane's blotted and blundering paper, which accused him to have said,

The fatal,
but false
article
which took
away his
life.

That the Irish army should reduce the English nation, which (as hath been before expressed) related unto the Scotch rebels only. And to sift out this article, (that this lord might have no sanctuary any where) the king was moved, and had granted that even his junto counsellors might be examined about it; and upon the examination, the Lord Treasurer Juxon, the Lord Northumberland, the Lord Cottington, and the rest, all upon oath denied it. And when this was perceived, knowing the other infirmities which attended this proof in the way of Vane's swearing this article, and that it depended upon a single witness; yet then (though they sufficiently knew how apt the major part of the lords were to condemn him) fearing there was not

proof enough to lead them to it, they resolved, *quocunque modo rem*, that by one means or other they would be sure to bring him to his end. And hereupon they declined the impeachment, and fall upon a resolution of proceeding against him by bill; for by this means they become themselves as much his judges as the lords: so that what the laws in being could not reach unto, *viz.* his life, a new law must lay hold on; and thus a man must die for that which at that time was not capital, the ill consequence of which precedent they knew so well, that they were forced to stigmatize their own bill with a proviso, that "this judgment should not for the future be drawn any more into example." And the lords, who could not in honour condemn him by the laws in being, upon the impeachment before them, were like to be tempted with the honour of having a legislative power of ridding themselves of a man they so little loved, and so much feared; and this way would involve the king as deep in the guilt as either of them. All which led them to make this change in the way of their proceeding against him.

This bill had great agitation in the House of Commons, and was much opposed, and the tumults without were upon many more

Proceeding
by bill.

prevalent and rhetorical, than the arguments within.' And though many members thereupon withdrew themselves from the house, that afternoon it was put to the question, (for it was an afternoon's work ;) yet when it was just ready for the question, the Lord Digby gave the account why he would not give his affirmative thereunto ; " Which " (says he) " whilst I was a prosecutor by law, and others to be judges, I thought myself bound not to discover ; but now I am a judge myself, I am bound to declare, because my dissatisfactions are grounded upon it. And accordingly I here assert, that upon the first examination of

* " For all our scouring of religion
 Began with tumults and sedition ;
 When hurricanes of fierce commotion
 Became strong motives to devotion ;
 (As carnal seamen in a storm,
 Turn pious converts, and reform,)
 When rusty weapons, with chalk'd edges,
 Maintained our feeble privileges ;
 And brown-bills, levied in the city,
 Made bills to pass the grand committee :
 When zeal, with aged clubs and gleaves,
 Gave chace to rochets and white sleeves,
 And made the church, and state, and laws,
 Submit t' old iron and the cause."

HUDIBRAS, B. III. Canto. II. v. 533.

Sir Henry Vane himself in the close committee, he positively said he could not charge him therewith; and upon a second examination doubtfully repeated it, saying, to the best of his remembrance he said it not; when, at the same time, unto another article he could affirm he did it: but upon a third examination, upon sight of his own paper or note, pretended to be taken or stolen out of his cabinet by his son, young Sir Henry Vane, he did affirm that he heard the Earl of Strafford say to the king, Sir, you have an army you may employ to reduce this kingdom. Now," says the Lord Digby, "consider whether any man can proceed upon another man's life upon the difference of one letter, *viz.* whether the word was *here* or *there*, *this* or *that*; especially on the testimony of a gentleman who twice before upon oath had denied the same." But the question being put, the major part of the House of Commons passed the bill, for there were but fifty-six who voted against it, and the names of these were posted up in many places of London and Westminster, to draw them into obloquy and further danger,* of which malignant number I

* These were stigmatized as Straffordians, and menaced with violence by the rabble without, and with legal

was one. Many artifices and tumults are likewise used in and towards the House of Lords to pass the same, and the king by a speech and letter endeavoured to divert it; but he that ought to command seldom gets any thing when he is reduced into a condition to supplicate. And thus this great man was proceeded against suitable to Mr St John's argument, not like a beast of chace, to whom men give law, but like a fox or wolf, knocked in the head wheresoever found, or a polecat caught in a trap laid for him. But when he came to die, as he charitably forgave all persons, so he prophetically said, "He could not augur well of that reformation which was thus laid in blood." And when the news of his death came unto Cardinal Richelieu, who had had too great a hand in it, he said, "The English nation were so foolish, that they would not let the wisest head among them stand upon its own shoulders."

The king induced to sign and pass the bill, which troubled him ever after.

And now we may make this further reflection upon the king's part in this tragedy, that though the earl himself, by letter unto his majesty, acquitted him of his death as an action forced upon him, and that some bishops

prosecution by the victorious party within doors, of the House of Commons.

who were sent unto him, (whereof Juxon was one of the number, but not of the opinion,) had framed their divinity to the necessity, and that better *unus quam unitas*, or that one than the multitude should perish ; yet it is notoriously known, how great a weight and disturbance this single act gave unto the good king, even unto his end.* And this may teach

* Upon this subject the unfortunate prince expresses the deepest repentance in the Icon Basilike, as appears from these, among similar passages :—

“ I never met with a more unhappy conjuncture of affairs, than in the business of that unfortunate earl : when between my own unsatisfiedness in conscience, and a necessity (as some told me) of satisfying the importunities of some people, I was persuaded by those that I think wished me well, to chuse rather what was safe than what seemed just, preferring the outward peace of my kingdom with men, before that inward exactness of conscience before God.

“ And, indeed, I am so far from excusing or denying that compliance on my part (for plenary consent it was not) to his destruction, whom, in my judgment, I thought not by any clear law guilty of death, that I never did bear any touch of conscience with greater regret ; which, as a sign of my repentance, I have often with sorrow confessed both to God and men, as an act of so sinful frailty, that it discovered more a fear of man than of God, whose name and place on earth no man is worthy to bear, who will avoid inconveniences of state by acts of so high injustice, as no publique convenience can expiate or exculpate.

princes how impolitic it is, when they find themselves in hazard, to think to divert the danger by not hazarding. Which certainly this king had done, had not false counsellors

"I see it a bad exchange to wound a man's own conscience, thereby to shew the world the fallacy of that maxim, 'Better one man perish (though unjustly) than the people be displeased or destroyed.'

"For in all likelihood, I could never have suffered with my people greater calamities (yet with greater comfort) had I vindicated Strafford's innocence, at least by denying to sign that destructive bill, according to that justice which my conscience suggested to me, then I have done since I gratified some men's unthankful importunities with so cruel a favour; and I have observed that those who counselled me to sign that bill, have been so far from receiving the rewards of such ingratiations with the people, that no men have been more harassed and crushed than they: he only (Bishop Juxon) hath been least vexed by them, who counselled me not to consent against the vote of my conscience: I hope God hath forgiven me and them the sinful rashness of that business.

"To which being in my soul so fully conscious, those judgments God hath pleased to send upon me are so much the more welcome, as a means (I hope) which his mercy has sanctified so to me, as to make me repent of that unjust act (for so it was to me) and for the future to teach me, that the best rule of policy is to prefer the doing of justice before all enjoyments, and the peace of my conscience before the preservation of my kingdoms."—*Reflections of KING CHARLES, apud SOMERS's Tracts, Lond. 1810, vol. IV. p. 252.*

and counsels so prevailed on the queen's fears, that, in respect of her safety and his children's, he quitted his own resolutions. For had the king resolutely (as he might by all the before-mentioned circumstances reasonably and conscientiously have done) denied his assent to this bill, he had never been importuned with those unreasonable demands, which from day to day the houses after made unto him ; for every unreasonable demand, if obtained, brings a guilt on the demander ; and every addition of guilt brings with it a fear, and every fear is restless, until the injured person be devoid of all power, either to recover his right, or revenge his injury.

And to shew how mad this whole people were, especially in and about this then bloody and brutish city, (London,) in the evening of the day wherein he was executed, the greatest demonstrations of joy that possibly could be expressed ran through the whole town, and countries hereabout ; and many that came up to town on purpose to see the execution, rode in triumph back, waving their hats, and with all expressions of joy, through every town they went, crying, " His head is off, his head is off!" and in many places committing insolencies upon, and breaking the windows of those persons who would not solem-

Mad triumphs of the misled people upon the death of Strafford.

nize this festival with a bonfire. So ignorant and brutish is a multitude.

And now, though other matters should more naturally succeed, yet because we may couple these two great men together, whose fates were alike, (and yet the last had the fouler play; for the one died by an act of parliament, which in tempestuous times had been preceded; but the other by an ordinance of the two houses of parliament, which in the worst of times was never found out,) we will now set down what befell that reverend prelate, Archbishop Laud.

Archbishop
Laud's
impeachment.

His character hath been given already; and, without all doubt, his design was no more than to preserve the church upon the foundation of scriptural institutions and primitive practice, which was the great design of the reformation of this church. His error was, (because he found the king by his father, King James, fully instructed in that knowledge, and carefully warned of the designs of the presbyterians to subvert the same, and because he himself fixed the king in it, and observed in him as much affection as knowledge towards the maintenance thereof,) that he considered not the unreasonableness of the times, and that the jealousy of too many honest and well-minded men had made way for,

and promoted the designs of the factious. Not long, therefore, after the Earl of Strafford's being committed to the Tower, this prelate, upon a general charge of constructive treason, or endeavouring to subvert the laws and the religion of the nation, is impeached at the Lords' bar, and committed unto the black-rod, and not long after sent unto the Tower, to cohabit (but not to keep company) with the Earl of Strafford.

Being there, that he might see what measure of justice he was like to meet with, and that the world might see the nature of his flagitious crimes, the first attack which was made upon him, was an accusation, that he had called unto the high commission court, an honourable and a worthy member of the House of Commons, Sir Robert Howard, son to the Earl of Suffolk, for having notoriously and scandalously (in that age, though it would not seem so in ours) lived in a state of adultery and incontinence with the Lady Purbeck, wife to the brother of the late Duke of Buckingham, and for this small sin Sir Robert was fined five hundred pounds, which fine this good prelate, by the exact justice of the House of Commons, was sentenced singly to repay ; and to save the distress upon his goods, this good man, who before had spent much

His imprisonment in the Tower.

of his estate in public buildings and works, to my knowledge was fain to borrow money to make this payment.

After this for some years he lay quiet, if a man under such an imprisonment, and in such company, and under such guards, with such reflections as he must needs have, could lie quiet : for I remember I myself waited on him in the Tower, in order to the payment of this fine, and I found him reading Galen, *de usu partium*, and in a very calm temper, and rejoicing that so learned a man, who was so addicted to assign all unto nature, should, by the admirable structure of a man, be so much convinced of the God of nature ; and telling him how glad I was, that in such a storm he could be awake, and have his thoughts so pacific, he replied to me, “ ’Twas a natural effect of dependence upon Providence ; but,” says he, “ that which exercises my patience most is, that these men force me to be present and join with them in their church service, where they daily maim the liturgy as they please, and where they pray and preach not against me only, but against the truth and majesty of God : but I hope,” says he, “ God will season me for these and all other trials.” And in this state he lies for three or four years, when things not going very prosperously with

the king, and the Scots lying very heavy upon him, and the whole party apprehending, as long as he lived, they should make less impression on the king towards their intended changes in the church :

In the year 1644, they fell upon a formal charge of him upon his first impeachment. And to say little of the particulars, because they were so frivolous, after an eager prosecution of him by Mr Prynne, (an hot-brained and half-learned schismatical lawyer,) all the charge of his impeachment fell so short, (though Mr Prynne with others, under pretence of seeking for intelligence from Oxford, being sent unto him by the houses, searched his pockets, and took away from him even his notes, which he had set down in order to his defence against their charge ; so as they were prepossessed of what he meant to defend himself by,) that they were forced to quit that way, and to proceed against him by a bare ordinance of the two houses of parliament, which was an unheard-of and never-precedented thing.

What this word *Ordinance* signified was grown so unintelligible that I could never meet with any who clearly could expound it, either by good books or authority : but this on all hands was agreed on, that an ordinance was

Charged upon his former impeachment.

The proceedings against him by an ordinance of parliament.

never of universal force but where the king concurred in it; and then it was esteemed as a law is now; and when it passed from the two houses singly, it was only in parliament time, and had no force longer, and never had force or general influence upon the people, nor further extent than to the two houses. So that it was as much impudence and imposition upon men's understandings, to have it extended unto any private man's estate, as it was injustice and cruelty to make it reach unto the decapitation of this reverend and grey head. And thus we may see how this body of men, who cry out against arbitrary government in a prince, can, even to blood, remorselessly execute it by themselves. And, at the passing of this ordinance, there were present only seven lords: the Lord Bruce was said to be of it, but was not so; whose character I here take occasion to give.*

* Thomas, Lord Bruce of Kinloss, (second brother to Edward, Lord Bruce, who was slain in a desperate duel with Sir Edward Sackville, near Antwerp, in 1613,) was the first Earl of Elgin, being so created in 1633. But in England he was better known under the English title, by which he sat in the House of Lords, Lord Bruce of Whorlton.

If we deduce his name from the list of peers who pusillanimously voted for the death of Laud, over-awed by the

He was a gentleman of a very good understanding, and of (as I believed) a pious, but timorous and cautious mind. I having the honour of his neighbourhood and friendship in the country, when he interrogated me upon several things which passed at Oxford, I took the liberty to ask him whether he would sell as he bought; or give me as free leave to judge of their proceedings, as I found he had curiosity to satisfy himself of the true reason of ours? I remember he frankly told me, (and this was a good time before the king's death,) that with his presence, and sometimes with his vote, he had been too much assistant unto their councils, who had been too traitorous unto their prince; "and therefore," says he, "treat with me not as a man justifying his actions, which I always made as innocent as I could, by being often absent; (and yet am too guilty of disloyalty,) or as useful as I could unto the king when present, whose pardon I stand so much in need of." I remember I replied, "My lord, if these be your thoughts con-

The character of the Lord Bruce.

threats of the ruling party in the House of Commons, there will remain the following six nobles, the Earls of Kent, Pembroke, Salisbury, and Bolingbroke, with the Lords North, and Gray of Wark.

cerning his majesty and his cause, to whom I know you and your family owe much, what peace have you within yourself for that extraordinary sentence, where your name is found among so few lords against that unfortunate prelate, Archbishop Laud?" He bid me believe him in nothing he should ever aver to me, if it were not true that he was not present, nor concurred in that vote. And truly the great justice he used in concealing, and paying unto a minister of state, (then banished for his good service and loyalty to his king,) Mr Secretary Nicolas, a gentleman of good natural and acquired parts, and of an unshaken loyalty, eminent probity, perfected by a long experience in affairs, and of an indefatigable industry, an annuity of 400*l.* per ann., with a considerable arrear even to his own danger, when he might easily have got it for himself: and the bounty he shewed unto others of great quality, as well as to the lesser of his majesty's adherents, and the steady piety I observed in his whole course of life, make me (without the least obligation, besides the honour of his conversation) insert this passage, as being yet so much a servant to his family, (though since his death I have little frequented it,) that I heartily rejoice he was thus far innocent of this prelate's righteous blood.

Secretary
Nicolas.

When sentence was given upon him, this <sup>Archbish-
op Laud
beheaded.</sup> good archbishop, who was naturally fearful of a violent death, was so assisted by God's grace, that he was modestly forward to undergo it; and upon the day of his execution he undauntedly marched to the scaffold, though he was haunted by two ill spirits, Hugh PETERS and Sir John Clotworthy, all his way thither; who even upon the scaffold (like instruments of the great adversary of mankind) were disturbing him by inhumane interrogatories, when he had most need to have had his thoughts in best repose. But, forgiving them and all the world besides, with great steadiness, gravity, and piety, he appeared to make his own funeral sermon with less passion than he had in former times made the like for a friend.'

" Never did man put off mortality with a braver courage, nor look upon his bloody and malicious enemies with more Christian charity. And thus farre he was gone in his way towards paradise, with such a primitive magnanimity as equalled, if not exceeded, the example of ancient martyrs, when he was somewhat interrupted in his quiet passage by one Sir John Clotworthy, a firebrand brought from Ireland by the Earl of Warwicke, to encrease the combustions in this kingdome; who, finding that the mockings and revilings of malicious people had no power to move him, or sharpen him into any discontent or shew of passion, would needes put in and try what he could do

His speech is very well worthy the reading, and his most Christian deportment in laying down his life is most worthy the remember-

with his sponge and vinegar; and stepping to him near the block, asked him (with such a purpose as the Scribes and Pharisees used to propose questions to our Lord and Saviour,) not to learn by him, but to tempt him, and to expose him to some disadvantage with the standers-by, What was the comfortablest thing which a dying man could have in his mouth? To which he meekly made this answer, *Cupio dissolvi et esse cum Christo*, i. e. I desire to be dissolved and to be with Christ. Being asked againe what was the fittest speech a man could use to expresse his confidence and assurance? he answered with the same spirit of meeknesse, that such assurance was to be found within, and that no words were able to express it rightly: which, when it would not satisfie the troublesome and impertinent man (who aimed at something else than such satisfaction,) unless he gave some word or place of scripture whereupon such assurance might be truly founded, he used some words to this effect,—that it was the word of God concerning Christ and his dying for us. And so, without expecting any further questions, (for he perceived, by the manner of Sir John's proceedings, that there would be no end of his interruptions if he hearkened any longer to him,) he turned towards his executioner, (the gentler and discreeter man of the two,) and gave him money, saying, without the least distemper or change of countenance, Here, honest friend: God forgive thee, and do thy office upon mee with mercy."—*Briefe Relation of the Death and Sufferings of the Archbishop of Canterbury*, apud SOMERS' *Tracts*, 1810, IV. 453.

ing. And so we shall leave him, now removed from London, (where he was first buried,) interred with his faithful and great friend, Archbishop Juxon, in St John's College, in Oxford, to which they were both very great benefactors.

And now, though we have a temptation to set down the dismal end of the great master of Strafford and Laud, King Charles I., because we might observe how like their fates were, though various their judicatures; Strafford having suffered by an act of parliament, Laud by an ordinance, and this great and good king by a vote of the House of Commons, which erected a fictitious high court of justice: and to shew how the religion and laws of this land were buried with this good prince, (who himself remains rather interred than buried,) yet we will now return to the unparalleled and rebellious proceedings of the two houses of parliament, and of their dear brethren the Scots, in the year one thousand six hundred forty and one.

Having begun with these two great men, they use all the means possibly they could to intimidate all those that were not like to con-
cur with their designs: they disseminate discourses how popishly affected our bishops were, how vitiated our universities; they give

The poli-
cies of the
Long Par-
liament.

the worst characters they can of the judges, discountenance all the grave citizens, whom they knew good subjects unto the king, and good sons of the church. They raise new dreadful appellations of *Malignants* and *Incendiaries*; the well-affected country gentlemen they awe, as subject to be questioned for somewhat by them done, either as sheriffs, in time of ship-money, or as deputy-lieutenants, whom for some pretended irregular action or other they were like to question. They seek all artifices by injecting jealousies and fears, and by shewing them a prospect of preferment, at least of the reputation of being great patriots of their country. And to draw over unto their faction the principal members of the then present parliament, they stigmatize all the dependants in court. And because there were divers members of the house who had had their names in illegal patents, (an exception never in any age taken before, to disable a man from sitting in parliament,) they discard them out of the house, though legally chosen unto that service, and new writs are sent to choose others into their places. They are daily attended by the factious clergy, whom they freely admit into their junto councils; though at the same time they are designing to cast out the bishops out of the lords' house,

and any of the clergy from secular affairs, because that profession required the whole man: but they could not part with these sons of Levi, because Dathan and Corah are proper instruments to seduce the multitude, whom ere long they were to make such vile and seditious use of. And having thus traduced the government, they undermined it, knowing it would be in their power to blow it up, whenever they would give fire to these trains of powder. Thus popular changes are not like storms which shake great oaks, and often rend from the body of the tree great arms of it; but like earthquakes, which make a general concussion, and tear up the very root of the tree, together with the very bowels of the earth.

Having thus dealt with persons, they proceed to things; and every decency in the church is set forth as a superstition, and every rule of order in the exercise of the outward worship of God is branded as an oppression brought upon Christian liberty. In the state, the very ancient courts of justice are represented as the chains of the subject's slavery. The Star-chamber, which at its first institution was a defence of the royal prerogative, and a bulwark for the liberty of the subject against the great men's oppressions, and against

They vote down ceremonies.

The Star-chamber.

such perjuries and frauds as the ordinary courts of justice could not meet with, must now not be reformed, but vacated and pulled down; the want whereof made Judge Hales say openly at an assize at Cambridge, (as a gentleman of great quality who was then on the bench assured me,) that he believed, since the putting down of that court, there had been in few years more perjuries and frauds unpunished, than there had been in an hundred years before. The High Commission Court, which was erected 1^o Elizabeth, as a preservative against popery, and a bridle unto presbytery and schism, must undergo the same fate; though it was the terror of such scandalous sinners, as then sneakingly (but since barefacedly) have committed incest, adultery, fornication, and blasphemy. Nay, the act for putting of it down must be so drawn, (and then what was the designer's malice must be assigned to the providence of the Almighty,) that it was pretended it extinguished the power of excommunication, which was one of the great branches of the Christian religion, instituted by Christ himself, and exercised by his apostles. The two President's Courts, that of Wales, and that of the North, one was clearly to be put down, and the other to be made useless by enlarging appeals.

High Commission.

The courts in Wales, and in the North.

The Court of Stannaries, which was so ancient a right of the Dukes of Cornwall, now one of the regalia of the crown, and the standing policy of governing the miners, who wrought that considerable staple commodity of tin, was now questioned and maimed, and the poor toiling tinner exposed to the merciless usurer. And though the king quitted much of his prerogative in his forest-laws, yet all they asked must be granted, or no content given: and the ecclesiastical courts were touzed and shaped as they pleased; and the Earl Marshal's court was made so insignificant, as if there needed no distinction of nobility and gentry.

Stannaries.

Forests.

Ecclesiastical courts.

Earl-Marshall's court, and hereby

Thus the suppression of regal jurisdiction was used as a means to draw off the reverence due to the crown and public authority, and to lodge it all in the popular greatness of a House of Commons. And indeed they overthrow all ecclesiastical and civil establishments, before they are concerted how to frame any new; or, as Mr Cromwell (who, from a very mean figure of a man in the beginning of this parliament, rose to that prodigious greatness before the end) said to Sir Thomas Chichely and myself, once in the house, in the matters concerning religion,

the royal prerogative and jurisdiction of the crown.

"I can tell you, sirs, what I would not have, though I cannot what I would." Thus first overturning all ancient and established government, they project to erect such a Babel for their own securities, as they had not yet so much as designed.

The triennial parliament.

But to secure themselves, they make great complaints of the discontinuance of parliaments, and so bring in a bill to be assured of one once in three years; for if the king failed to make this summons, then it should be an incumbent duty in the lord chancellor, or keeper of the great seal; if he failed, then any twelve peers might summon a parliament; if the peers neglected this, then the sheriffs and other magistrates might do it; if they neglected it, the freeholders had a right of choosing members, and those members upon penalty were to serve.

Four subsidies for the army.

Herein the king gratified them, (whereby they seem to have arrived at a co-ordination,) and they gave four entire subsidies for the relief of his majesty's army in the northern parts of the kingdom, which was a cloudy expression to take off the dishonour of paying the Scotch army; but they gave nothing to his own coffers.

The English officers design to

The parliament is observed to be more forward to pay the Scotch than the English ar-

my. But whether the ill usage the king suffered, or the sense of the parliament's partiality towards the Scotch army, (for they had a mind, because the money and loans upon it came not in all at once, to have preferred the payment of the Scotch before the English, though the money to them must have gone through or by the English quarters,) or whether the officers of the English army were conscious they had hitherto neither considered their own, their prince's, or their country's honour, in the opposition they had given to the Scots upon their first march : which certainly arose from the Earl of Northumberland's either casual sickness, or resolved deserting his command in such a point of time, as gave Strafford no leisure to cast things into a new mould ; or whether remorse struck them upon reflection on the king's necessitated condition, to grant the two houses whatever they demanded ; or whether the young tampering favourites on the queen's side, the two Henriets, Percy and Jermin,¹ were trepanned into

petition
the parliament.

¹ Thomas Percy, brother to the Earl of Northumberland, and Henry Jermyn, afterwards Lord St Alban's. The last continued to be the queen's favourite even after her retreat to France, and it has been confidently surmised that she was privately married to him.

the design by the old subtle foxes of the court, (for they upon the discovery were fain to fly,) who were most probably influenced by the leading men in parliament; whether these or any of these motives were the cause of it I know not: but at this time, Wilmot, Goring, O'Neale, and Ashburnham, and the rest of the officers, unadvisedly entertain a discourse to engage the English army in a petition; the effect whereof was, that his majesty might be free in his debates, and not necessitated to his concessions; and surely it must be unadvisedly, when the Scots had an army to march in their rear, and that they must march towards such a city as London, and to the displeasure of the thus prevailing two houses sitting there. But Goring is said to have betrayed them all, as he did; but he swore to me, (which was no great assurance,) that he never revealed it till he certainly knew that the chief members of both houses were before acquainted with it.* But another of

* In this severe character of the profligate Goring, Sir Philip Warwick is warranted by the noble historian:—
“Goring, who was now general of the horse, was no more gracious to Prince Rupert than Wilmot had been; had all his other faults, and wanted his regularity and preserving his respect with the officers. Wilmot loved debauch-

the gang assured me that it was he that gave opportunity to the silly and faithless Earl of.

ery, but shut it out from his business ; never neglected that, and rarely miscarried it. Goring had a much better understanding and a sharper wit, (except in the very exercise of debauchery, and then the other was inspired,) a much keener courage and presentness of mind in danger : Wilmot discerned it farther off, and because he could not behave himself so well in it, commonly prevented it, or warily declined it ; and never drank when he was within distance of an enemy : Goring was not able to resist the temptation when he was in the middle of them, nor would decline it to obtain a victory ; as in one of those fits he had suffered the horse to escape out of Cornwall, and the most signal misfortunes of his life in war had their rise from that uncontrollable licence. Neither of them valued their promises, professions, or friendships, according to any rules of honour or integrity ; but Wilmot violated them the less willingly, and never but for some great benefit or convenience to himself ; Goring, without scruple, out of humour, or for wit's sake ; and loved no man so well but that he would cozen him, and then expose him to public mirth for having been cozened : therefore he had always fewer friends than the other, but more company ; for no man had a wit that pleased the company better. The ambition of both was unlimited, and so equally incapable of being contented ; and both unrestrained by any respect to good-nature or justice, from pursuing the satisfaction thereof : Yet Wilmot had more scruples from religion to startle him, and would not have attained his end by any gross or foul act of wickedness ; Goring could have passed through those pleasantly, and would without hesitation

Newport, once to set those of this company who met together on this subject, and which soon expounded all the rest ; which led me in my own judgment, and I go no further, to believe (for our new statesmen were well acquainted with the history of D'Avila,) that plots were frequently made, at least encouraged, by those against whom they seemed to be made : and so I quit this affair.

Protesta-
tion of the
commons
and lords.

But, however it came about, the two houses make high use of this design, for the House of Commons presently enter into a protestation, which they first take themselves, and then the lords take it ; whereby they oblige themselves to maintain and defend with their lives, power, and estate, as far as lawfully they might, the protestant religion against popery or innovation, the king's royal person, the pri-

have broken any trust, or done any act of treachery to have satisfied an ordinary passion or appetite ; and in truth wanted nothing but industry, (for he had wit and courage, and understanding and ambition, uncontrouled by any fear of God or man,) to have been as eminent and successful in the highest attempt of wickedness, as any man in the age he lived in or before. Of all his qualifications, dissimulation was his master-piece ; in which he so much excelled, that men were not much ashamed or out of countenance with being deceived but twice by him."—CLARENDON, II. 427.

vileges of parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the subject ; and because they ordered this to be taken by all other men through the land, as a security to them, it is made a branch that they will defend every person that should take this protestation, in whatsoever he should do in the lawful pursuance of the same ; and every one was to endeavour to preserve the union and peace betwixt the king's majesty's kingdoms. And thus protestations and covenants are introduced in England, as well as Scotland, that the subject might not have too great veneration for the oath of allegiance, but think themselves tied as much to the two houses as to the king.

And as if this were not sufficient to secure them, they have one new demand more, (which, like Abishai's petition to David concerning Saul, asks leave but to give the king one wound more, because it should be such a one that there should be no need to smite him a second time,) and that was, that there might be a bill passed for the continuance of this parliament, not to be prorogued nor adjourned but by act of parliament ; (and hereby they gain a temporary share in the sovereignty, as they had before a lasting co-ordination,) for without this, they alledged that they should

The act for not dissolving this parliament without their own consent.

not be able to secure the money they had borrowed for the army, nor redress grievances; and with this bill passed that other bill which brought the Earl of Strafford to the block.

How the
king came
to pass the
act

It is impossible to think how so intelligent a person as the king was, should by any persuasions, which certainly were great on the queen's side, or treachery, which certainly was great on the side of many of his great courtiers, be induced thus to divest himself of all majesty and power; or to be so overseen, as to think he should avoid danger, by running into the greatest hazard imaginable.

But we may give the former reason for it, that wisdom often quits a man, when misfortune hath led him into extremities. But notwithstanding all these great failures and after misfortunes, I think, before we shall end these memoirs, or reflections on these times, we shall shew his goodness and sincerity were so well known unto his subjects, and his reputation so great among them, that it raised such a zeal in them, both in his life to defend him to the utmost, and after his death to restore his son, that it may be truly said, living and dead, he was ever most dear to his subjects in general.

This House of Commons having thus fixed deeply their root, it is no marvel they raise

their top to that height, that ere long it shadowed the lords' house ; and by dripping upon them, in some few years caused them to be voted useless. And indeed that body of men, (who resemble a king, if not in unity, yet in paucity, which at first they did,) forgetting their own natural station, when they withdraw themselves from the cloth of state and dependence on the throne, where they are placed to support it, and upon emergent occasions to screen the commons from any scorching greatness of it, if they forget their duty to their prince, and become popular themselves, it will not be long before they be themselves subjected to the commonalty : for it is not title, but useful power, that draws unto itself the reverence of greatness.

And now the House of Commons, who were called only to consent, become the sole counsellors of the land. Such doctrines therefore must be now planted, as make a subversion of the old frame of government ; for the king must be no longer head of the three estates, lords spiritual, temporal, and commons ; or, clergy, nobility, and commonalty ; whose distinct office is to temper one another, and to beget a right understanding betwixt head and body, king and subject, in general : but the king must be one of the states, and the go-

The king, by the necessary constitution of the government, the head of the three estates.

vernment march under the banners of king, lords, and commons, which in one sense is true, if the king be reckoned as head of his three estates ; and in another is false, if he be made one of them. And thus the clergy must first lose their dignities or baronies, that they might afterwards lose their lands, and they must lose their species or order of men ; and though they be God's immediate servants, yet they must be as the off-scouring of the people, as not worthy to have any persons represent them amongst those who represent the whole body of subjects. For both lords and commons have, or at least ought to have, no greater title than subjects, and it is well even for themselves, at least for their posterity, that they have no greater pretence to the sovereignty : for many heads are as unnatural to a politic as to a natural body. Thus this pretence was so far from the old constitution of the government, that even the House of Commons themselves heretofore have prayed that the clergy might be present by themselves, or their procurators, lest the acts of parliament might be judged deficient.

The bishops removed from their seats in parliament.

And now the bishops' seat in parliament, which was as ancient as parliaments themselves, (and we may say ancients, for no Saxon ~~Cemotes~~, or councils, ever met without

them) must be taken away ; and yet records shew some of them had been, through all ages, as good instruments for the subject's liberty, and procuring even Magna Charta, as any of the commons or secular lords ; the true reason whereof now was, because they were a body of men who were not to be practised upon tumultuously in this conjuncture, to innovate in church or state. A bill therefore is brought into the house for removing the bishops from their seats in parliament, and though it was rejected by the lords, and so consequently could not be re-assumed in the same session, yet these gentlemen, who so much cry up the forms and usage of parliament, are no way restrained by them, when they curb their own desires, but revive the same bill, and pass it in the same session. But all this must be interpreted well in their behalfs, because they are zealots, and all other men deserters of the subject's liberty. And it is not long before it be attempted to overthrow even their order itself, which was planted by the apostles, and unquestionably had continued in the church from the apostles' time unto this day :

New petitions must come from the city unto that end with so great tumults, crying, " No bishop, no bishop," that as I had my-

Petitions
and tumults
against the
bishops.

self a share in the danger with him, so I saw old Sir John Strangeways in the Court of Requests, so crowded up into a corner by a multitude of people, and so clamoured with this noise, that I truly thought him in danger; and yet when we both complained of it in the house, though averred by several other members, and set forth as an awing of parliament, inconsiderate zeal was their excuse, and no remedy was applied, and thus they legitimated all lewd attempts and tumults.¹ But this may be truly and justly said for this sacred order, that since the unwarranted and aspiring greatness of the papacy, it hath neither pleased pope nor presbyter; for the first hath endeavoured to derive it but from an ecclesiastical authority, that he might set up his own monarchy; and the second, (which is of no longer date than Calvin's time,) to introduce his parity has had the same design. Nor was it safe for the House of Lords to deny the Commons any thing, since new doctrines were broached, (when the major part of that house

¹ These complains were little attended to among the stern adherents of republicanism. "The bishops," says Milton, "peradventure were now and then pulled by the roquets, and deserved another kind of pulling."—*Answer to Bikon Basiliké*.

could not be prevailed on to concur in some of their designs,) and distinctions must be made betwixt the major and melior part of the house; so as it is become, "Cross you lose, and pile I win:" for whether they were more or less in number, all was to be as they would have it. And a motion was made by that leading man, Mr Pym, "That the major part of the House of Commons, and the minor of the Lords, might be esteemed as an authentic concurrence of both houses."

The jurisdiction of the House of Commons must now be so extensive, as not only in their own house, but to the humble and patient House of Lords, messages must be sent by the now Lord Hollis, then a member of the House of Commons, to demand the names of those major part of the lords that concurred not with them; and committees, that in former times were named with great gravity, and confined to select numbers, to the end that no man might have voices in the reports that were to be made back from the committee, but those who were named of the committee, (though then any member of the house, though not of the committee, might attend there, and, asking leave to speak, give his reason, though not his vote, for or against the business,) are now enlarged, that every one that comes in,

The encroachments of the House of Commons.

but in the last hour of the day, when the heat of the service was over, received his penny, and his vote was as significant as any one's who had steadily attended the service. This facilitated designs very much, for some might vote in one afternoon at many committees, when others necessarily must be fixed at one.

But when princes grow weak, subjects will grow insolent, and whilst jurisdictions clash, the unity of the parts of government, which is the only band of peace, becomes dissolved, and the multitude are taught to cast off all government, upon pretence they know not whom to obey. For it fares with politic bodies as it doth with some hypochondriac and melancholy ones, who are always tampering with themselves, upon occasion of some small or supposed distempers, until they have flung themselves into a real disease. And thus we see how wise a thing it is for princes to contain themselves within their own bounds, and subjects not to go beyond or exceed their old land-marks : for I cannot too often repeat the historian Daniel's good observation, that "in a mixed government, when one side lays hold on opportunities to violate the right of the other, as it is never just, so it is ever unfortunate unto the state." But I, who intend not to write annals, will not follow men step by

step in their pernicious designs of subverting the regal government, or shew how they made one thing a scale to ascend unto another : but I will here set down the nineteen propositions they sent unto the king at York, having cursorily and lightly set down those smaller usurpations, which bred in them that appetite to these greater, which indeed amount unto the modest desire of transferring the sovereignty of the crown to the jurisdiction of the two houses ; and it is conviction enough, that what they now ask, from the beginning they desired.

The particulars of which demands were as follows :—

- I. That all the king's privy-council, great officers and ministers of state, may be put out, excepting such as the parliament shall approve, and to assign them an oath.
- II. That all affairs of state be managed by the parliament, except such matters as are transferred by them to the privy-council, and to be concluded by the major part of them under their hands : the full number not to exceed five-and-twenty, nor under fifteen ; and if any place fall void in the interval of parliament, then the major part of the council to choose one to be confirmed at the next session of parliament.

Nineteen propositions sent by the rebel Westminster parliament to the king at York.

III. That all the great officers of the kingdom shall be chosen with the approbation of parliament, &c., as before said.

IV. That the government and the education of the king's children be directed by parliament, &c., *ut supra*.

V. Their marriages to be treated and concluded by parliament, &c.

VI. That the laws against papists, priests, and others, be executed without toleration or dispensation, except by parliament.

VII. No popish lord or peer to have a vote in parliament, and their children to be educated in the protestant faith.

VIII. To reform church-government, and as the parliament shall advise.

IX. To settle the militia as the parliament hath ordered, and the king to recall all his declarations published against their ordinances therein.

X. All privy-counsellors and judges to take the oath for maintenance of the Petition of Right, and other statutes which shall be made this parliament,—so to swear in present unto things in future.

XI. All officers placed by parliament to hold their places, *quamdiu benè se gesserint*.

XII. All members of parliament put out during this time, are to be restored again.

XIII. The justice of parliament to pass upon all delinquents, and they to appear or abide their censure.

XIV. The general pardon to pass with exceptions, as the parliament shall advise.

XV. All forts and castles of the kingdom to be disposed of by parliament : *ut supra*.

XVI. The king to discharge all his guards and forces now in being, and not to raise any other but in case of actual rebellion.

XVII. The king to enter into a strict alliance with all reformed states, for their assistance to recover the rights of his royal sister and her princely issue to those dignities and dominions which belong unto them.

XVIII. To clear the Lord Kimbolton, and the five members, by act of parliament.

XIX. No peer hereafter to be made shall sit in parliament without their consent.

These articles are thus soon set down, that the rest of their traitorous proceedings may be the better understood.

The Scots having been for so many months, and for so ill ends, with so much dishonour kept in the bowels of this kingdom, and at last dismissed with a brotherly kindness of 300,000*l.*, which they had scarcely ever seen

The king's
journey in-
to Scot-
land.

before, at least as being given or paid by England, new reasons must be found for another journey for his majesty to go into Scotland. But, before he goes, the English lords (to say no more of it) who so inopportunately petitioned for a parliament, lest it might rise in judgment against them in future times, must be secured by act of parliament : and the Scotch treaty, wherein were at least forty diminishing laws to the crown, which passed in the late times, must at this time be likewise confirmed : and accordingly, in the month of August his majesty went into that kingdom, and made a residence there of about three months and upwards, which he only spent in confirming all they had done, and in giving titles of honour unto those that had most deserved of him : amongst whom the Marquis Hamilton was made duke. But even at this time this great man, that he might shew whom he had served, and for whom he was held in jealousy by the king, seems to give out that his person, together with Argyle's, was in great danger, which the king highly resented ; but, however, retracted not the honour he intended him, but possessed him of the title with his patent, and reproached him

Marquis
Hamilton
made duke,
soon afterwards
justly re-
proached
by the
king.

with this action, wherewith he seemed to be much out of countenance.*

* This alludes to a dark occurrence of those times, called in Scottish history *The Incident*. While the king was in Edinburgh, and apparently all around him united in loyalty and zeal for his person, of a sudden Hamilton and Argyle affected, or really entertained, a suspicion that they were to be murdered by the adherents of Montrose, Crawford, and the more violent royalists. Baillie gives the following account of this strange affair:—

“Sundry wise men even then began to smell some worse thing, for at once there broke out a noise of the most wicked and horrible plots that has been heard of, that put us all into a mighty fear. It was noised every where, upon Captain Walter Stewart’s relation, that Hamilton, Argyle, and Lanerk, only for company, should have been called for out of their beds, that same night it was revealed by Almond, as it were to the king’s bed-chamber; when they should have come they were to have been arrested as traitors, and to have been delivered to the Earl of Crawford, waiting on with armed soldiers at the foot of the Blackfriars, in the garden, by them to be cast into a close coach, and carried to the shore; for there was a boat attending for their convoy to one of the king’s ships, which for some weeks had been in the road, for no other purpose that was known, but that that should have been the prison out of the which they were to be brought before the parliament, to answer challenges of the highest treason; but in their arresting, if they should have made any resistance, Crawford and his soldiers were ready to have stabbed them. Cochran was said to have given assurance for bringing his regiment from Musselburgh, to command

Another
parliament
in Scot-
land.

The whole fruit of that journey was one single observance of the Scots towards the

the cause of Edinburgh ; and that night, with the assistance of many friends in the town, to have made fast or killed, if need had been, so many of the parliament-men as were suspected might have been ready for the prisoners relief. Ways were made to deliver the castle to Montrose and his fellow-prisoners. The Kers, Humes, Johnstones, and the most of the borders, were said to have been in readiness, and under warning, to march towards Edinburgh ; the soldiers of Berwick also, who yet were not disbanded. These horrible designs breaking out, all the city were in a flight. Hamilton, Argyle, Lanerk, took a short good-night with the king, and fled to Kinneil. The citizens kept a strong guard that night. Many of the well-affected noblemen caused watch their houses. To-morrow the king came up in a coach to the parliament, and near 500 soldiers, and the worst affected men about him, with their arms in a menacing way. They broke in near hand to the parliament's outer hall. The states were mightily offended, and would not be pacified till Lesly had got a commission, very absolute, to guard the parliament, with all the bands of the city and regiments yet on foot, and some troops of horse, which, according to his printed warrant, he did quickly and diligently. Crawford, Cochran, and others, were made fast. Great ado there was for their trial. The king complained much of the vile slander which Hamilton's needless flight and fear had brought upon him. He professed to detest all such treacheries as were spoken of ; urged a present trial in face of parliament, for the more clearing of his innocency. Yet this way was rejected as very unmeet ; but a committee was appointed for a more

king; for in this parliament they publish and revive a former act, then in force, (which shewed that by the laws of the land the militia there was lodged singly in the king,) that act declaring, " That it was detestable and damnable treason, in the highest degree that could be, for any of the Scotch nation, conjunctly or singly, to levy arms or any military forces upon any pretence whatsoever, without the king's commission." If they had pleased, this act (which they were so well knowing of) might have kept them at first from their entering into this land; or (they having reminded themselves thereof) it might at least have stopped them (when the fidelity of the subjects of England, from that low condition of his being not able to live in any security in his own palace, but forced to quit London, as one may say, in his doublet and hose, had made the king able to grapple with those who had traitorously taken up arms,) from once again re-engaging against him. But where subjects cast off those principles or precepts of reli-

accurate trial in private than could have been in public. Many evil-favoured things were found; yet in the papers that went abroad we found nothing that touched the king, neither much which did reflect on the duke, Almond, or William Murray."—*BAILLIE's Letters*, I. 330.

gion, whereby God obliges them to obedience unto their prince, no municipal laws are of force to retain them in duty. Nor are these worse rebels than those who entitle themselves unto the greatest saintship. But we will leave these Scots for a time, lurking in their den for a new prey.

His majesty's private, though not privy counsellors, properly so called.

Some little time before (for princes must have counsellors) a new triumvirate was raised, (and the number three best resembles or makes a fictitious one or unity, which two will not do, for in such cases there must be an odd number, and then three is the least than can be found.) For the king had drawn over unto his party three eminent persons of the House of Commons, who had seemed very lukewarm in his interest, viz. the Lord Viscount Falkland, Sir John Culpeper, and Sir Edward Hyde. These for some time lay hid, and were not discern, and their advices and pens were most used upon emergent and important disputes betwixt the king and the two houses; and they most commonly framed such answers as were fit for the king to give in that conjuncture, for they well knew the temper of the House of Commons, and were supposed to know that of the nation.

Lord Falkland.

Every one of these persons had some eminency distinct from the other; for the Lord

Faulkland¹ had prodigious natural parts, a memory and a fancy which retained all it read or heard, and then as rhetorically set it forth, and his notions were useful and not common; he loved his book, and so was a great master of books, but in temper somewhat hypochondriac; and therefore, men of business often found that in him which they practised not themselves, nor perchance would not if they could have imitated him. That which crowned all was, that he was a person of great probity and sincerity.

Sir John Culpeper was a man of as great a memory as the other, and though not of an equal learning, yet the warmth of his fancy gave him a very ready elocution. He excelled in making inquisition after, and disquisition into any affair, and whatever could almost be said *pro* or *con* fell within his prospect. So as I have often heard him enumerate the several opinions of at least half a score persons one after another, and distinctly and methodically answer every one: but he seldom made an entire judgment of the matter in question, for his apprehension was commonly better than his resolution, and he had

Sir John
Culpeper.

¹ The celebrated Lord Faulkland.

an eagerness or ferocity that made him less sociable than his other colleagues, (for his education and converse in the world had been in part military) and his temper hasty.

Sir Edward Hyde.

Sir Edward Hyde¹ was of a chearful and agreeable conversation, of an extraordinary industry and activity, and of a great confidence, which made him soon at home at a court. His natural parts were very forward and sound, his learning was very good and competent, and he had a felicity both of tongue and pen, which made him willingly hearkened unto, and much approved; and having spent much of his studies in the law, this made his discourse and writings the more significant, and his language and style were very suitable to business, if not a little too redundant. So, as it was supposed, though there was always a concurrence of the others' two judgments, that it was his pen that was made most use of. Hence it was that his majesty's propositions, messages, replies, and declarations, were so well answering unto the rules of the house, and the subject matters treated

¹ Afterwards Earl of Clarendon, the eloquent and interesting historian of these scenes, in which he bore so active and honourable a share,

of, and found so much better acceptance with the world than those of the House of Commons; which for a time was very advantageous to his majesty's service, for it drew the curtain, and made plain the deceitfulness and unwarrantable designs of the contrivers in parliament, and the reasonableness of his majesty's propositions. But I remember a wise lord, who had great influence on them all, would complain that their wit and elegancy, as it was very delightful, so it would not long last useful, since contests betwixt a king and his houses of parliament, could not be separated from the ill consequences and pressures upon the rest of the subjects in general, in their common course of life; and that would beget rather a frowardness in men to see such things treated of with elegancy and irony, than any delight or complacence; and therefore he was wont to say, "Our good pen will harm us." I find Mr Hobbes hath made a reflection on this in his late book of the civil wars. And when this good lord perceived, (as in that declaration at York,) where the government, or the office of the king and that of the three estates was set forth by a spirit of fancy and accommodation, as it rather wounded the regality, than convinced the refractory, and was not grounded as low as the

law laid it, but suited to the lighter learning and disposition of the times, there he would be often wishing rather for a blunt than too keen a nib of a pen.

A farther account of these three great men, employed in the king's affairs and councils.

These excellent persons, though they were great masters of reason, yet could not pretend unto experience; and being to pilot a ship through a tempestuous sea they had never before voyaged, (for they were to understand a court, a camp, and a council-board, all at once,) it is rather to be wondered they did so well, than that they made some errors. In this conjuncture it was necessity that drew them into these great affairs, but it is the usual vein of the court of England, that it preserves no succession among its officers, nor gives rise unto men by gradations from one employment unto a higher, and so chooses its ministers of state, sooner upon some affection and recommendation of a queen, or favourite, or great man, than upon the qualification of the person chosen; too often thinking that the prince's favour supplies his minister's reason, and that his reason will not stand in need of experience. But to say no more, the experience of these latter times hath shewed that this hath been a costly error. These great men being henceforward to come sometimes upon the stage, I thought fit here to

make mention of them, that both they and the actions that went through their hands, might in the following story be the better understood, as it shall hereafter of that eminent man, the Lord Digby, late Earl of Bristol, whose character I reserve.

And now from persons we will again look back to business. Irish rebellion.

Whilst the king was in Scotland broke forth that dismal, inhuman, and bloody rebellion of the Irish; for it was not unlikely but popery would be projecting her advantages, when presbytery was making such a harvest by her disloyalty, both in England and Scotland; and as the old dragon is most powerful, subtle, and malicious, so he is always most cruel. For these men carried their plot with that jesuitical secrecy and cruelty, that though they were prevented of surprising Dublin by a mere accident, yet through the country it has been thought, that in one week they massacred very near one hundred thousand persons, men, women, and children. And though the king offered unto the two houses here, that in person he would engage against these rebels, and prayed their advice and assistance, yet they would afford him none; nay, they disputed his power to levy volunteers against them, and would be contented with nothing

but the management of this war by themselves, and when that was intrusted with them, as the defection both in Scotland and England, and the removal of Strafford, (which some wise men saw before) raised the Irish hopes to attempt this rebellion ; so now by precipitate votes the two houses (confiscating all their lands, and making sale of them,) cast this whole nation into such a general despair, that if there were any loyal or innocent among them, (which we may justly fear were very few,) they were forced to take party with those whom very probably they might abhor. And though this barbarity of the Irish could not but be abhorred by the worst of these Englishmen, yet they were observed not to be displeased that they had got an opportunity to obtain a military power and management of a war by themselves, and they afterwards made use of it both in diverting men and money, raised for this service, by employing them in their armies against the king here at home. And they insisted the more on having the management of this war in their own hands, because they found the great condescensions and concessions which the king had made, were become to very many of the most opulent citizens in London, and other corporations, and almost generally to the gentry

through the kingdom so dissatisfactory, that men were rather troubled that so much had been granted, than ready to promote those further demands which lay lurking in the chief men of the houses, and were manifested when they sent the king their nineteen propositions before-mentioned. For,

Upon the king's return out of Scotland, the city of London's splendid entertainment of him,^{*} and the discourses that flew in all parts of the ample satisfaction the king had given, (both which they foresaw before it was put in execution,) made them prepare so foul a remonstrance, to give the king his first entertainment amongst them, that a blacker libel could not be framed either against his person or government; and it passed so tumultuously two or three nights before the king came to town, that at three of the clock in the morning, when they voted it, I thought we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death; for we, like Joab's and Abner's young men, had caught at each other's locks, and sheathed

The parliament's remonstrance.

* Through the influence of the loyal Gurney, then lord mayor, Charles's reception into the city, on his return from Scotland, partook of the nature of a triumph.—See Somers's Tracts, vol. IV. p. 137, where a piece, entitled *Oratio Carolina*, gives a full account of the solemnity.

our swords in each other's bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr Hambden, by a short speech prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate until the next morning. The king's first entertainment, therefore, must be the presenting this libel or remonstrance to him, and not long after, contrary to his desire, printing and dispersing it, and tumultuously pressing both him and the two houses with a bill for the casting out the bishops from their seat in parliament.¹

¹ Clarendon also has chronicled this violent debate, in conducting which, on the side of the royalists, he had no small share. The Remonstrance, which was the subject of it, recorded against the king all the unpopular acts of his reign, and omitted no subject which could affect the passions or prejudices of the people. And they entertained such an opinion of their strength, that Cromwell told Lord Falkland that the debate would be but a sorry one. In this, however, he was mistaken, for this discussion, the last which was fairly maintained by the king's party in the house, lasted from nine in the morning until after twelve o'clock, when the Remonstrance was carried by the small majority of nine voices. The house then fell into a tumultuous debate upon a proposition to print the Remonstrance, and was with difficulty dismissed at two o'clock in the morning. In leaving the house, Lord Falkland asked Cromwell whether there had not been a debate? To which he replied, that had the Remonstrance been lost, he would

Against which tumults the bishops made a formal, but legal protestation, which the lay-lords made an occasion to commit them to the Tower upon ; and not only their places in parliament, but their very callings, are as tumultuously invaded, and a petition brought from the city against both root and branch.¹

The bishops' protestation.

After this the two houses' guilt, or their ambition, made them believe themselves no way secure, till they had barefacedly demanded the militia to be intrusted with themselves : for though the government thought the sword and purse not secure in any one hand, they thought it no immodesty to demand it, and yet they must not be understood as subverters

The two houses demand the militia.

next day have sold all that he had, and never have seen England more. " So near," adds Clarendon, " was the poor kingdom to its deliverance."

¹ This protest was drawn by the celebrated Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, who, exasperated at the ill usage he himself and his brethren sustained from the rabble, couched it in terms more violent than prudent, declaring, that while the bishops were forcibly excluded from their rightful seats in the House of Peers, the acts of that assembly should be void and null. The House of Commons snatched at the opportunity of altogether secluding this obnoxious body from parliament, voted the bishops who subscribed the protest to be guilty of high treason, and demanded and obtained from the complaisant House of Peers, a warrant for imprisoning twelve of the prelates in the Tower.

of the laws; no, not when the judges of the land advised a writ to be issued forth to disperse the tumultuous concourse about the king's palace and the two houses, must these tumults be interpreted an illegal proceeding, but the multitude must be heartened, and the magistrates dishonoured.

The king
accuseth
some mem-
bers of par-
liament of
high trea-
son.

This flung the king into such a confusion of council, that in Scotland having learnt the confederacies against him, and the intelligence some of our great members had held with the ambassadors of foreign princes, particularly the French, and somewhat of the depth of their design, he was forced to resolve to accuse some members of both houses of treason, but too late God knows: enough to shew that when princes will long put off their dangers by unreasonable concessions, they do not divert their hazard, but run into it. And now, though he resolves to proceed against these members, *viz.* the Lord Kimbolton, Mr Hollis, Sir Arthur Haslerigg, Mr Hambden, Pym, and Stroude, by a due process in law, and accuses them first in the lords' house, by his attorney-general, and then in the House of Commons by himself; (both houses having ever allowed that no privilege of parliament could, by any single member of either house, be pretended unto in the case of treason, fe-

lony, or breach of peace,) yet his coming to the lower house being betrayed by that busy stateswoman, the Countess of Carlisle, (who had now changed her gallant from Strafford to Mr Pym, and was become such a she-saint, that she frequented their sermons and took notes;) he lost the opportunity of seizing their

* Lilly the astrologer seems, in the following passage, to claim the merit here ascribed to the Lady Carlisle, of having apprized the parliament of the ill-advised attempt of the king:—

“It was my fortune that very day to dine in Whitehall, and in that room where the halberts newly brought from the Tower were lodged, for use of such as attended the king to the House of Commons. Sir Peter Wich, ere we had fully dined, came into the room I was in, and brake open the chests wherein the arms were, which frightened us all that were there. However, one of our company got out of doors, and presently informed some members that the king was preparing to come unto the house, else I believe all those members, or some of them, had been taken in the house. All that I could do further was presently to be gone. But it happened also the same day that some of my neighbours were at the court of guard at Whitehall, unto whom I related the king’s present design, and conjured them to defend the parliament and members thereof, in whose well or ill doing consisted our happiness or misfortune: they promised assistance if need were, and I believe would have stoutly stood to it for defence of the parliament, or members thereof.”—LILLY’S *History of his Life and Times*, Lond. 1774, 8vo, p. 234.

The king's
quitting
London.

persons, which by a common course of law he might much safer have done; for they retired into the city, and being within a day or two to be brought back to the houses with the London trained-bands, (which was really treason for them to march thither without the king's commission,) he was forced with his queen, (of whose person he was always more chary than of his business,) to remove to Hampton-court, and from thence to Dover, to transport her with her daughter, the Lady Mary, (the then Princess of Orange,) and from thence to come back to Greenwich, where, by the fidelity of that great and good man, (who once made a great error, but heartily repented of it,) the Earl of Hartford, he received his two sons, and with them retreated towards York, which place he could not have gained, but as the houses thought it would conduce more to their victory to fetch him back in triumph, than to stop him in his way. So despicable his condition appeared to them, and yet because he was attended by the Lord Digby, and some forty or fifty gentlemen, (a fit train for him only in the highways,) this was disclaimed¹ against as levying a war.

¹ i. e. Declaimed.

Being arrived at York, and cheerfully entertained by all there, his eminent virtues, his rational knowledge, his temperate course of life, his just mind, and pious soul, was so conspicuous, that he found a loyalty when he had nothing of majesty or power to attract any persons to him. Which nothing but the good and Christian principles of the church of England could have procured for him, and by the sons of this church he was defended to the last, and with them his memory is precious to this hour; and whenever for our judgment this church shall be overthrown, (which God avert,) the same principles will make those men, or their sons, as forward to suffer for their religion, as ever they were to serve and suffer with this good prince. For this church (or the persons of it) serves princes in order to their own serving God, (which I observe not other sects to do, but for secular ends,) and therefore I am assured they will quit their interest in this world, rather than those heavenly truths which they have sucked from the breast of this good and nursing mother, the church of England; and suffer by their princes, when their ways are such as removes from them the occasion of suffering for them; for religion is not a merchantable commodity.

The king
at York.

The last
stage of
the king's
life.

And now we are come unto the last stage of this good prince's life, and this leads us, though not to fathom the depth, yet to discern the course of Divine Providence, which hitherto had led him through such a labyrinth of various fortunes, that, knowing his goodness and Christian patience, I ever expected (and there were often rational hopes to feed that desire) such a deliverance from God in his behalf, as he had at other times afforded unto David, by teaching his hands to fight, and giving victory unto his anointed. But his end, (I speak it to my shame) as it flung me into great melancholy, so it did into some diffidence, and was the occasion to me of attempting an essay about knowing God and a man's self by the light of reason and revelation.

The breaking out of
the civil
war.

This last part of this good king's reign will appear a state of civil war, which spread itself presently like an universal fire, and seized upon the whole nation; and was not acted as the former story was, in one part of the nation alone, as in parliament, Whitehall, city, &c. but was a conflagration at once, which broke out in every part of the kingdom: and therefore we must describe and methodize the remainder of this story, in observing how this fire burnt in the four quarters of the land,

and, as high as we can, point at the time as well as the places of the ensuing tragedies; though herein probably we shall not be exact, and for want of knowledge of those numerous families, or eminent loyal persons engaged herein, we may omit many who as well deserved of the crown as those we have mentioned; but writing from a frail memory and some old ill-digested notes, the omission will be rather the writer's misfortune than his fault.

It was about the beginning of the year 1642, that the king came to York, and here finding both from the nobility, gentry, and commonalty of those northern parts, a loyal and cheerful reception, he reflected upon the magazine of arms he had at Hull, and with a small train of gentlemen resolved to go thither, and secure them and that town: and though he came before it not in the least hostile manner, yet the watchful two houses, who were resolved on a defection, had pre-occupied his design, for they had sent down Sir John Hotham and his son, whose estates neighboured upon those parts, with commission to seize those arms and secure that place. So as when the king came thither he refused him entrance, and the king was forced to march away, as not provided in the least mea-

The king at York meets with all dutiful address and assurances of loyalty.

The Hothams refuse to deliver up Hull to the king.

sure to force the place. The news whereof was carried up by his own son, Mr John Hotham, unto the two houses ; whom I heard in the House of Commons give the relation of what his father had done, and he concluded with this, " Thus hath my father and myself served you, fall back, fall edge." And it was but few years before the edge fell upon both their necks by the sentence of their new masters, for having foolishly managed this affair in the year 1644, when he would have delivered up the town unto the king, the design was known, and both he and his son seized on ; and that which made the edge the sharper on them both, was, that the houses, at least some instrument of theirs, dealt very deceitfully with them both, and they very unnaturally with each other ; for they were fully persuaded that the forfeiture of life would be taken but from one of them, and the father endeavoured to sacrifice the son, and the son the father. It came unto the son's part to suffer first, and then the father thought himself secure, so as, even until he was going to lay down his head upon the block, he expected a reprieve, but when he began to despair of that, he was desirous to have spoken somewhat more unto the people, but was not per-

mitted; and therefore it might be easily judged in what confusion of spirit he died.'

* The apprehending of the Hothams is thus announced in the court Gazette of the period:—"It is signified also in the same letters, that Sir John Hotham was displaced from the government of Hull, and sent away prisoner to London. And that they of late committed his son, Captain Hotham, who, as you heard last week, made an escape from Nottingham, (where he was first made prisoner,) and recovered Lincoln; from whence it seems he came very opportunely unto Hull to be made prisoner with his father. For being they would trust neither of them, it did concerne them very highly to make sure of both: and to that end they sent down a commission to Sir Matthew Boynton, a declared anabaptist, (and therefore more serviceable to their ends,) to seize on Hotham, and take possession of the town. Who coming thither unsuspected, as being Hotham's brother-in-law, and one in whom he much confided, made himself master of the magazine, and brought over all the souldiers to him before Hotham had any notice of the practice. But finding his danger, though too late, he made haste to Beverly, where he was set upon by his own souldiers, whom Boynton had before corrupted; by whom he was pursued back again to Hull, and at the gate called Beverly gate, (being the very gate at which he had most impudently denied his majesty entrance into the town,) was beaten off his horse with the end of a musket, and there taken prisoner. That done, they seized on his wife and children, rifled his house, and plundered him of all that treasure which he before had raked together out of the spoyle and ruine of his fellow subjects, and having ransacked his estate to the value of 10,000*l.*, in their accompt who speak least, (for some say 20,000*l.*,

The king
issues out
his com-
mission of
array.

The king thus disappointed, returns from Hull to York, summons the country unto him, issues out his commission of array, levies and arms a few men for his guard. From York he returns unto Hull, hoping, (being owned by so many noble families, worthily reputed good patriots and sound protestants,) that Hotham and those in Hull might relent of what they had done in keeping him out; but his forces being not equal unto the strength of that place, and finding their rebellious disposition inflexible, he only appeared before it, and retired, and then made a journey into Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, and Shropshire; and advanced as far as Chester with those few troops of noblemen and gentlemen which he had with him, (for daily some considerable persons with their train came in unto his service from every county,) whereby he might as-

some a great deale more,) sent him, his sonne, together with his wife and their children, in a ship to London, there to expect the further pleasure of the houses; whom the world sees are bountiful good masters to knock downe him with the butt end of a musket, who had furnished them with the king's whole magazine. So richly doth the devill use to reward his servants,"—*MERCURIUS AULICUS, July 3, 1642.*

sure those parts in their loyalty, and make his declaration, as he had from York, where he made this following to his peers, and the peers made the following engagement unto him, and subscribed the same.

The King's Declaration at York was this :

We do declare that we will require no obedience from you, but what is warranted by the known laws, as we expect that you should not yield unto any commands not legally grounded, or imposed by any other. We will defend you all, and all such as shall refuse any such commands, whether they proceed from any votes and orders of both houses, or any other way, from all danger whatsoever. We will defend the true protestant religion established by the laws, the lawful liberties of the subjects of England, and the just privileges of all the three estates of parliament : and shall require no further obedience from you, than as we accordingly shall perform the same. And we will not (as is falsely pretended) engage you in any war against the parliament, except it be for our necessary defence against such as do insolently invade or attempt against us and our adherents.

The king's
declaration
at
York.

Upon this Declaration of the King, the Peers made the following Promise and Engagement, and subscribed it with their Hands as follows:

The lords' address and engagement to his majesty.

We do engage ourselves not to obey any orders or commands whatsoever, not warranted by the known laws of the land. We engage ourselves to defend your majesty's person, crown, and dignity, with your just and legal prerogatives, against all persons and power whatsoever. We will defend the true protestant religion, established by the laws of the land, the lawful liberties of the subjects of England, and the just privileges of your majesty, and both houses of parliament. Lastly, we engage ourselves not to obey any rule, order, or ordinance whatsoever, concerning the militia, that hath not the royal assent.

Subscribed by

Lord Keeper.	E. of Dorset.
Duke of Richmond.	E. of Salisbury.
Marquis of Hartford.	E. of Northampton.
Earl of Lindsey.	E. of Devonshire.
E. of Cumberland.	E. of Bristol.
E. of Huntingdon.	E. of Westmoreland.
E. of Bath.	E. of Barkshire.
E. of Southampton.	E. of Monmouth.

Earl of Rivers.	Lord Falconbridge.
E. of Newcastle.	L. Paulett.
E. of Dover.	L. Lovelace.
E. of Carnarvan.	L. Coventry.
E. of Newport.	L. Savile.
Lord Mowbray and	L. Mohun.
Matravers.	L. Dunsmore.
Lord Willoughby of	L. Seymour.
Eresby.	L. Gray of Ruthen.
L. Rich.	L. Faulkland.
L. Charles Howard of	The Comptroller.
Charleton.	Secretary Nicolas.
L. Newark.	Sir John Culpeper.
L. Pagett.	Lord Chief Justice
L. Chandöys.	Banks, &c.

But Salisbury within few days after stole away to London.

And this engagement of his to the peers, Message sent from the king to the parliament, by and the peers to him, the king sent up to the two houses, expecting it might have induced them unto peace. But they were none of those fools, who had the price in their hands and would not make use of it. They discerned his weakness, and were overweening of their own power, and what they had by so much craft and violence obtained, they would not now lose by any religious credulity in their prince; but the nineteen propositions

The Earl
of South-
ampton.

Earl of
Dorset,
and Sir
John Cul-
peper.

But not ad-
mitted to
deliver it
in person.

The par-
liament re-
fuseth to
treat with
the king,
but upon
dishonour-
able con-
ditions.

were now published, and now they must be maintained. Which forced him soon after to set up his standard at Nottingham, and yet at the same time, to shew that the war was as unnatural unto him, as it was in itself, he sends a new message by those three eminent persons, the Earls of Southampton and Dorset, and Sir John Culpeper; believing that the character of the Earl of Southampton, (whom all parties very much valued and confided in, and who had been a witness of his majesty's intentions and councils,) would prevail much more upon them than any professions he could make by paper; and thus by this great and good man's personal appearance thought to give them satisfaction. But he finds their temper was not altered, for neither Southampton, nor the Earl of Dorset, (a gentleman of great parts and elocution,) nor Culpeper, (late-ly an eager patriot,) were so much as admitted (though all members of the houses) into their places, no, nor to deliver but to send in their message; for the lords that were gone over to the king were before this time all impeached, and the commons, as it were, cursed by bell, book, and candle. And it is declared that the king, seduced by evil counsel, had deserted his parliament, had set up his standard, and made proclamations of rebel-

lion against some of their chief members ; and now he must take down the one, and recal the other, before they can vouchsafe to treat with him. And though by a second dispatch he offered all this, if they would recall their commission to Essex, and the several declarations and impeachments against those noble and loyal persons, who, according to their duties and the laws, adhere to him ; yet the supposition of their strength and his weakness, (for all the beasts dance about the sick lion's den,) makes them so insolent as to decline all accommodations. For though the king had never charged his two houses, but some of the prevailing party in them, with this defection towards him, yet he must be now said to have put his two houses, and consequently (as they inferred) his whole kingdom out of his protection, though their proceedings and the kingdom's affections made them and that universal body to be very different in opinions ; for at that time (set aside the corporations) the several counties were most of them declaring for the king, and voluntarily running the hazard of his condition, when it was so despicable in the eyes of these men.

And that this may appear so for the better method of this affair, we shall set down what interest he gained in the east, west, and south

What party appeared for the king through

the four
quarters of
the realm.

The king's
party in
the east.

of this kingdom, and that distinctly one from another; having in some measure set forth already his reception in the north.

The east being an angle of this kingdom, and no thoroughfare into any other parts, and all as it were impaled and shut up by London, their good affections were stifled; but, like a smothering fire, it was now and anon blazing out, but soon extinguished. So as Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Norfolk, Cambridge, and Suffolk, were full of good affections, but were kept as fresh pastures for the parliament, for they were properly and singly in their quarters. And though the king could no way receive the benefit of their good affections, yet he had divers of the chief gentry with him; and of their inclinations their masters (the two houses) so doubted, that, though they should have eased them in their taxes, as most properly belonging to themselves, more than any other parts, yet knowing how little they were voluntarily obliged to them, they laid that load upon them that unto this day they feel the inequality of, and hereof they never eased them, even when the whole kingdom came to be their quarters. Which could arise from no other reason, but because in the generality they affected not their cause. But thus kept, they were a ma-

gazine of men, provisions, and money, through the whole contest. Their aptitude to rise and cast off this yoke, will be shewed in the future progress of this war; and in those desires and expectations they had of the king's sending them a body of horse to countenance their rising, and in their attempts even without them, which they so inopportunately and fruitlessly made, whereof mention shall be made hereafter.

For the sea-coasts of the west, the great trading towns of Bristol, Lyme, Falmouth, Plymouth, and Exeter, (the king's navy being now under the command of the two houses,) their interest as well as their inclinations made them parliamentarians. Only the Cornishmen (as old bold Britons) were eminently loyal and royalists, though they had strong temptations to the contrary. The inland towns and cities in the west were most for the king; the most eminent noblemen and gentry through the country were firmly loyal to their prince; and the interest of those eminent members of the parliament, such as Greenville, Slanning, Hopton, Stowel, Strangeways, Rogers, Windham, &c., and many more joining themselves to the Marquis of Hartford, found such a disposition in the generality of the commons, that when they appear

ed as heads for them to resort unto, those countries (though not the great towns) seemed much more the king's than the two houses' or rebels' part.

South.

The south bordered so much upon London, that, like the east, they were not much at their own liberty; but it may with modesty be averred, that if the awe from them could have been removed, and the freedom given them of three months ranging themselves either under a commander for the king, or in Essex's army, the king would have appeared the governor of the land; though the two houses were with their admiral, Warwick, the Neptune of the sea, and of the trade of it, which the crown may thank the Earl of Northumberland for; who, having had the greatest trust and honour imaginable put into his hands, he thought it no irreligion, rather to deliver into the hands of the enemies of the king, than into the hands of the king himself, who directed him to deliver up the navy unto Sir John Pennington.

And this may be easily granted, when the conflux of the considerable gentlemen, and men of great estates, to the king's armies appeared so cheerful and so numerous in every part; though the authority of the two houses, (wherewith the people were at that time ana-

The great
advantages
the two

ted,) the riches of the city of London, and the trading ports, the vast number of arms, and magazines of powder, ammunition, and all other habiliments of war, which they had seized on of the king's, and the great zeal of the presbyterian, fanatic, and parliamentary party, supported with the wealth of the king, queen, and prince's revenue, and generally the revenue of the church, throughout all their quarters, and of the confiscated estates of the nobility and gentry, gone over to the king, and the heavy taxes laid upon the subject in divers shapes and distinct titles, (as if three groats were less than a shilling,) made their beginnings so super-eminent, or out-balancing the king's condition.

All these, and many more oppressive ways, (none of them flowing from a just authority, or warrantable by any process of law, being acts of tyranny,) lay as impediments to hinder men in these parts from serving the king; but could not amount to the disheartening them. For very many considerable gentlemen, nay, rich yeomen, who had never received favour or beneficence from the king, crowded to share with him in his hazards, and left their estates at home, that they might follow him abroad, which since hath been too much

houses had
over the
king.

The king's
party here-
by not dis-
heartened.

forgot. But, because there was in the army a negligent or dissolute party, those out of it, that followed the king upon conscience of religion and law, were neglected when there was a great opportunity to have owned them, and thereby to have owned loyalty ; which being a virtue like the rest of the virtues, withers, if not warmed. Indeed, at this time, the two houses had made themselves absolute sovereigns of the realm, having seized on the militia, and made their ordinances (as they called them) sufficient authority to charge the subject with what money and contribution they pleased : and therefore, having thus assumed the sword and the purse, the navy and the exchequer, as well as all the strong-holds and sea-towns of this trading land, it is no marvel, that at last their arms were prosperous. But it was a great marvel how the king sometimes came to those fair probabilities of overthrowing them. With this power they not only imprisoned, but kept on ship-board, the chiefest aldermen, such as Garraway, Abdy, and the then Lord Mayor Gurney, of the city of London, for refusing to pay their taxes, which they would have defended themselves from by appealing to the law.

This was the first state, or the beginning of this unnatural rebellious war in this year, 1642,

after the king had set up his standard at Nottingham, and was refused an equal treaty, and that Essex was commissioned, and an oath framed and tendered unto all the members to live and die with him.

Which oath, among others, a good gentleman, Sir Sidney Montague, father of the late Earl of Sandwich, would not take: for he said, "he would not swear to live with him, because he was an old man, and might die before him; nor would he swear to die with him, since the earl was going with an army against the king, which he did not know how to free from treason; and so he did not know what end that great man might come to." But for this reflection he was presently voted to be dismembered, and another chosen into his place, to serve as knight for Huntingdonshire.

The parliament gives a commission to the Earl of Essex, and frames an oath which was refused, particularly by Sir Sidney Montague.

This family of the Montagues was a noble worthy family, and of a leading consideration in Northamptonshire. It had six brothers, four remarkable for several qualifications. The eldest brother was the Lord Montague of Boughton, a man of a plain downright English spirit, viz. of a steady courage, of a devout heart, and a true son of the church of England; yet so severe and regular in his life, that he was by the most reckoned amongst

Digression about the family of Montague.

L. Montague of Boughton.

the puritans, and yet so steady he was to the liturgy of the church of England, that when he had married his eldest son unto Secretary Winwood's eldest daughter, who affected not the common prayer, which he used twice daily in his house, he would say to her, "Daughter, if you come to visit me, I will never ask why you come not to prayers; but if you come to cohabit with me, pray with me, or not live with me." He lived amongst his neighbours with great hospitality, and no man was more knowing in the country affairs, (whether it was in relation to the king's service, or the common administration of justice, as at the assizes and such other meetings) than he was. He was a great benefactor unto the town of Northampton, and bore such sway there that he turned every thing at his beck, and the multitude or vulgars flocked about him when he came to town, as if he had been their topical deity. In parliament he was never forward to the court, nor forward to flatter it; but was observed always to countenance the established laws, rather than to be apt to make new changes, whether in church or state; and after he had waited once or twice upon the king at Whitehall, they saw him there no more. This was the

common course of his life. The second brother was Bishop Montague, who was a very reverend and learned prelate, and died Bishop of Winchester, being in great esteem with King James. The third was the Earl of Manchester, who professed the common law, and from Recorder of London, came to be Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, afterwards Lord Treasurer of England, where he continued but a short time; then was made president of the council of state, (for he and Chancellor Bacon were put out of their places together,) and at last died lord privy seal. He was a man deeply learned in his profession; he never warped from the interest of the crown, which he understood, and was wont to say, "The popular humour of lopping its prerogative would endanger the whole body of the nation;" and he would often bewail, (as he hath done to myself) that his son Kimbolton was so busily engaged in a popular party, even at that time (which was in the year 1640,) when his son's single interest defended him from that impotency which run through his whole life, of refusing nothing that was given him. The youngest brother was this Sir Sidney Montague, who was a master of request, and whose character we have already set down; and of him we have

Bishop
Montague.

Earl of
Manchester.

Sir Sidney
Montague.

told a story which I am too frequent in, if I had any other chief design than calling to my own mind the things that passed in my own time. And from hence it is I borrow the liberty of telling another story of the eldest brother.

This good lord, when our troubles new broke forth, was very aged ; but being lord lieutenant of Northamptonshire, the king, when he was at York, had sent him his commission of array, and he readily acknowledged the authority, and was putting it in execution. But Northampton being nigher London than York, and those at London being much troubled that a man of reputation, and against whom they had not the least thing to charge, should influence those countries, they sent a party of horse for him to bring him up a prisoner ; and this was just about the time when the Earl of Essex was marching out with his glorious army against the king. This good lord met this great general about Barnet, upon the highway, and the Lord of Essex stopped his coach, intending to go and salute him ; but as soon as my Lord Montague heard of it, he commanded his coachman to drive away, and said, " This was not a time for compliments ; " which was a true piece of English bravery and loyalty, and so disappointed the general's civi-

ty, and might have converted him to his loyalty, if he had well reflected on it. And one thing more I must observe of him in this journey, to shew the baseness of vulgar spirits, and the madness of a multitude; that when his coach was driven through the town of Northampton, and he having an old maid in the coach with him, who served him in the nature of a nurse, the fanatic populacy, even in that town, followed his coach, reviling him as a malignant, and declaiming against him and his female in the usual phrases which fill such mouths on such occasions. And that the end might be like the beginning and middle of his journey, when he came to London, and was brought before the committee of state, he asserting the legality of his obedience to his majesty, they (complimenting his former course of life, as an eminent patriot, though now defected,) told him they must now retain him a prisoner, but it should be in his own daughter's house, the Countess of Rutland; which he utterly refused, and said, "If he deserved to be a prisoner, he deserved to be sent to a prison;" and in conclusion would not be sent unto her house, (for she was busy in the parliament cause, and so her house was irksome to him,) until the warrant named her

house his prison, which the lady was much disgruntled at. I put great value upon such a mind as this, and therefore I had no mind to discard this story from these immethodical reflections, which I make upon these broken times, since they are so good discoveries of what so good men as this was thought of the king's person and cause.

Prince Rupert.

About this time, *anno* 1642, comes to Nottingham that brave prince and hopeful soldier, Rupert, together with his brother, Prince Maurice. He found there a very thin and small army, and the foot very meanly armed; and understanding in what forwardness, and in what great numbers, and how well armed Essex was, advancing upon the king, advice is taken to retreat back to Shrewsbury, where in a little time new supplies coming out of Wales and other parts, this prince, who (though a young man) had in martial affairs some experience and good skill, and who was of such intrepid courage and activity, as that, clean contrary to former practice, when the king had great armies, but no commanders forward to fight, he so soon ranged and disciplined this small body of men, that, engaging a good party of the Earl of Essex's, under the command of Colonel Sandys, near to the city

of Worcester, after a sharp dispute he there in person got a clear victory ; and the terror of that contributed very much unto that easy one over the parliament's horse, which not many weeks after he gained at Edge-hill. Of so great virtue is the personal courage and example of one great commander. And indeed (to do him right) he put that spirit into the king's army, that all men seemed resolved : and had he been as cautious as he was a forward fighter, and a knowing person in all parts of a soldier, he had most probably been a very fortunate one. He shewed a great and exemplary temperance, which fitted him to undergo the fatigue of a war ; so as he deserved the character of a soldier, *Il estoit toujours soldat* : for he was not negligent by indulgences to his pleasures, or apt to lose his advantages ; yet his eagerness to fight, and that with a well-armed army, who afterwards grew to be well-disciplined, turned to prejudice. And a little sharpness of temper of body, and uncommunicableness in society or council, (by seeming with a pish to neglect all another said, and he approved not,) made him less grateful than his friends wished ; and this humour soured him towards the counselors of civil affairs, who were necessarily to

intermix with him in martial councils.* And these great men often distrusted such down-right soldiers as the prince was, though a prince of the blood, lest he should be too apt to prolong the war, and to obtain that by a pure victory, which they wished to be got by a dutiful submission, upon modest, speedy, and peaceable terms, or by addresses of the two houses to the king. And, indeed, had the prince studied more to have removed this jealousy, or the king more vigorously interposed therein, and been master of both parties, his arms had probably been much more prosperous than they were, but neither of

* The character of Rupert, even in his later and more prosperous days, retained some of its harsher features. It is thus portrayed by the lively pencil of Hamilton :—

“ Il étoit brave et vaillant jusqu’à la témérité. Son esprit étoit sujet à quelques travers, dont il eût été bien fâché de se corriger. Il avoit le génie fécond en expériences de mathématiques, et quelques talens pour la chimie. Poli jusqu’à l’excès, quand l’occasion ne le demandoit pas ; fier, et même brutal, quand il étoit question de s’humaniser ; il étoit grand, et n’avoit que trop mauvais air. Son visage étoit sec et dur, lors même qu’il vouloit le radoucir ; mais, dans ses mauvaises humeurs, c’étoit une vraie physionomie de reproché.”—OEUVRES D’HAMILTON, Paris, 1805, 8vo, I. 345.

them stood in awe of him, and so the consequence was fatal.

It was not long after he had obtained this victory upon Sandys, that he fought that great battle at Edge-hill, where noble Earl of Lindsey, (a man of undaunted courage, and of good experience in soldiery; for he and the Earl of Essex had been comrades and commanders in foreign wars, though they were now generals of opposite armies,) was made a general, the king being generalissimo himself; the old General Ruthen, a Scot,¹ an experienced commander, and a man of natural courage, and purely a soldier, and of a most loyal heart, (which he had many occasions to shew before the war was ended, and which his countrymen remembered, for they used both him and his widow, a Swedish lady, with all extremity afterwards,) was adjutant in the command of the horse; and Sir Jacob Ashly

Edge-hill
fight.

General
officers and
command-
ers, Earl of
Lindsey.

Ruthen.

Ashly.

¹ General Ruthven had served under the great Gustavus Adolphus with much reputation. He was general of the king's infantry during the civil wars, and was created by him Earl of Brentford. But his military qualities were obscured by his age and deafness, and perhaps, also, by his being a very hard drinker,—a quality for which he was distinguished even among Danes and Saxons, then the nations in Europe most addicted to this vice.

(who in every thing deserves Ruthen's character,) was major-general of the army under the Earl of Lindsey ; who, before the charge at the battle at Edge-hill, made a most excellent, pious, short, and soldierly prayer : for he lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, " O Lord ! thou knowest how busy I must be this day ; if I forget thee, do not thou forget me : " and with that rose up, crying out, " March on, boys ! " for the king had given order that until the enemy should first have shot their cannon at our body of men, ours should not engage. In this battle Prince Rupert commanded the right wing of the horse, and the Lord Wilmot the left ; and the Lord Digby commanded one reserve of horse, and the Lord Byron the other.

Faults in
the ma-
nagement
of the bat-
tle at Edge-
hill.

But, as if fate had attended all we did, though Prince Rupert entirely routed the left wing of Essex's horse, which being perceived, Wilmot had very little to do with the right, (for he that marks Wilmot's whole progress through this war, shall find him much affected to be an umpire of peace, which had been well done if he had quitted the king's army, and gone into his council, than a decider of the contest by the sword, though the gentleman wanted no courage nor experience, nor, I hope, loyalty,) but both reserves pursu-

ing the chace, contrary to all discipline of war, left the king and his foot so alone, that it gave Essex a title unto the victory of that day; which might have been his last day, if they had done their parts and stood their ground. And it was the more strange that the reserves would thus precipitately engage themselves, when they saw the king had given leave unto his own volunteer guard of noblemen and gentlemen, who, with their attendance, made two such troops as that they consisted of about three hundred horse; for a vanity had possessed that troop, (upon a little provocation, or for a word of distaste the day before, or being called The Troop of Shew,) to desire this honour of being engaged in the first charge; and I had the honour to be of the number, and to be one of the most inconsiderable persons of it; and when we valued the estates of the whole troop, we reckoned there was 100,000*l.* per ann. in that body, staked that day in that engagement, against men of very disproportionable quality.

This was our first and great military misadventure; for Essex by his reserves of horse falling on the king's foot, pressed on them so hard, that had not some of our horse returned in some season unto the relief of our foot, we had certainly lost the day, which, all cir-

Banbury
and War-
wick ta-
ken.

The king
marcheth
up to Lon-
don after
Essex.

Offers of a
treaty at
Cole-
brooke.

cumstances considered, we as certainly won. But the next day gave us the assurance of our victory, for the evening parting us, we found the Lord of Essex was retreated with his army into Warwick town and castle, and we advanced to the town of Banbury, which, with its castle, was garrisoned; and though Warwick was very nigh Banbury, yet we took in the town and castle, and made prisoners the regiment quartered there, and so the king marched to Oxford, which he garrisoned. Whilst he refreshed his men, Essex stole by other roads as many of his army to London as he could, and the king upon this reputation hasted to be there by such marches as might not wear out his soldiers; and he advanced as far as Colebrooke, within fifteen miles of the city, and there he is met by some lords and commissioners, with a message from the two houses, beseeching him to keep himself and army at some distance from the city, that commissioners might attend him in order unto a treaty of peace; which he offered to do, in case the two houses would render him his palace at Windsor, for it was no more than an house of magnificence, being of no or little strength, though it was called a castle, and then garrisoned by the parliament party. But the commissioners had no such authority, nor

would own so much the reasonableness of this proposition, as to carry it by one or two of themselves: so as Mr White, the Earl of Dorset's secretary, was sent away with that message; but when he came to London, he was ill treated, and carried in like a common drummer or trumpeter, blindfolded, to animate the volunteers, (whom they were at that very time arming forth under the Earl of Warwick, in great numbers, and to strengthen the Earl of Essex's lately disheartened army, who lay at Turnham-green, betwixt Hammersmith and Brentford,) and to discredit his majesty's message, and chill the fervour of his party.

Here our lukewarm temper, or what the French call *entre-deux*, wounded us again; for the king, and the counsellors about him affecting *iniquissimam pacem*, &c., the worst conditions of peace, before the most prosperous war, spent about half a day with these commissioners, whom had he immediately returned, (though he had used them as friendly and kindly as he did,) with that message he sent by Mr White, it would have given the houses a fair proposition to have considered of, and cast the numerous part of the city into less despair, and given unto his own party therein, an heartening and a subject matter to have promoted. All which the ill and

Brentford
Bgt.

scornful usage of the king's messenger quashed. But resolute Prince Rupert, advancing as far as Brentford, found a strong house on the road, which then belonged unto Sir Richard Gwynn, well manned, which gave him some short stop before he cleared it; and Brentford was manned by Denzil Hollis's full regiment, who made him a sharp dispute for some hours before he took in that town, where he cut off or took prisoners all that defended it. Thus this day was spent, and the Earl of Essex, who lay within two miles of it, came not up to its relief, because Warwick was not come up to him.* The king lay that night at Hounslow, some three miles off, with the body of the army, where (if Essex had pleased the next day,) there was a large fair heath for the two armies to have tried once again their courage and fortunes. But, he being thus recruited, and the two houses and city making no further address, and provisions for the king's army's longer stay there being wanting, about the middle of the day he marched off towards a summer-house of his own at Oat-

* This precipitate attack of Prince Rupert was made the occasion of great scandal to the royal cause, as it was alledged that Brentford was assaulted while the treaty was in dependence.

lands, betwixt Windsor and Hampton-court, where there were still fair heaths for the two armies to have engaged, if the parliament forces would have made the adventure; and he lay there about two days, and then retreated unto the town of Reading, which he made a garrison, and so back to winter at Oxford.

What good affections and promptitude to maintain the king's just rights, and to deliver him from the persecution of his two houses, his majesty left in the north, we have already set down. To keep up the fervour in those places, two eminent lords, the Earl of Cumberland and the Earl of Newcastle were left behind. The first had his residence at York, the other was levying fresh men in Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Durham, and so onwards; who, having raised a good and considerable army, dispersed young Hotham, with the parliament forces, which sought to impede his march, and came up to York, where the Earl of Cumberland (who had been no ways equally active to what was expected of him, for he was a most loyal and honourable person, even unto his death, unto the king,) laid down his charge, for his genius was not military. The Earl of Newcastle took the whole command upon him, and made his head-quarters at York.

Commanders in the north for the king.

Earl of Cumberland.

Earl of Newcastle.

His character.

He was a gentleman of grandeur, generosity, loyalty, and steady and forward courage, but his edge had too much of the razor in it, for he had a tincture of a romantic spirit, and had the misfortune to have somewhat of the poet in him ; so he chose Sir William Davenant, an eminent good poet and loyal gentleman, to be lieutenant-general of his ordnance. This inclination of his own, and such kind of witty society, (to be modest in the expressions of it,) diverted many counsels, and lost many opportunities, which the nature of that affair this great man had now entered into required. The parliament party in the north was chiefly upheld by the Lord Fairfax and his son Sir Thomas Fairfax, Sir Hugh Cholmley, and Captain Hotham ; and though this great lord gave those forces a defeat at Tadcaster, yet they often endangered his dispersed quarters, and got some credit by it, for his army, though considerable, was soon weakened by a false policy ; for he endeavoured to raise the reputation of it by multiplying his commissions for new regiments, troops, and companies, for which they received some advance-money, and quarters assigned to them for their men, which they scarce ever raised in such number as to embody ; and yet in such a number as did harass and impoverish

the country, and lying with their few men scattered and thin, were often surprised, and then the enemy had the reputation to have defeated a regiment, where there was perchance but half a company or troop. And this I believe was a very great wound to him from the first; for had he recruited his first or old troops and companies, and not thus loosely aimed at new, his army would have been more powerful, though nominally less numerous, and could have lain closer together, and so consequently have been stronger in itself, and more active upon the enemy. But ere long his army grew very considerable, for Colonel Goring landed at Newcastle with 200 commanders, and some arms from Holland; and General King not long after landed there likewise, and brought him 6000 arms, and the queen presently after landed at Burlington-Bay with good provision of arms, ordnance, and ammunition, and was by the Earl of Newcastle conveyed to York, and she had so influenced Sir Hugh Cholmley, who commanded the port of Scarborough for the parliament, and old Sir John Hotham and his son, who commanded Hull, that important garrison, that had she been as successful in the last as she was in the first, the whole north had been cleared, and that undoubtedly would have

turned the scale upon the south, and restored his majesty unto his just rights, the people unto their true liberties, and the nation unto its former profound peace. But Hotham's timorous temper betrayed himself and the design. The queen marches up to Oxford, and the king met her at Edge-hill, where were all the demonstrations of affection and joy imaginable.

The king's
affairs in
1643, in
the north
and west.

Hepton.

Stamford.

This was in the year 1643, when the king, in this good condition both in the north and west, was prosperous, Sir Ralph Hepton having in the west about the same time defeated the parliament forces, who lay about Plymouth, under the command of the Earl of Stamford. However, the king sent unto the two houses to treat of a peace, upon which errand came to Oxford the Earl of Northumberland, Mr Peirpoint, &c. But the propositions were nigh as unreasonable and haughty as the former, so as the king not complying, they are by their masters called back, and the war goes on. Essex marches up towards Oxford, and then retreats and sets down before Reading, a long and irregular town to be fortified, and required more men to defend it than were then in it; and though the king hastened to its relief, and was near it, and engaged with some of the out-forces which blocked it up, and beat

them off; yet the governor, Colonel Fielding, even in that instant loosely rendered it upon conditions of marching out with arms, bag, and baggage; and was questioned for his life, but not executed, which made some discontented at Oxford.

A sickness at this time had seized upon the Earl of Essex's army, so that considerable man, Colonel Hambden, with Colonel Sheffield, was about Chinner, levying recruits for that army in Oxfordshire towards Tame. Prince Rupert, with a strong party drawn out of Oxford, being advertised of it by Colonel Hurry, a Scot,¹ defeated them there in Chalgrove-field, which was the very place where Mr Hambden had first put in execution the first parliament commission for the militia against the king's authority. Hambden himself was retreated with a small party into a little field very near the place of engagement; a small party of the prince's perceiving that little body so at a distance, briskly charged them, having not the least knowledge that Mr Hambden was among

¹ Hurry, as the English called him, though his name was Urry, was distinguished as a partizan, and engaged at first with the parliament. He afterwards went over to the king, and, in conclusion, changed sides more than once during the war.

them. Here he received an hurt in the shoulder, whereof in three or four days after he died; for his blood in its temper was acrimonious, as the scurf commonly on his face shewed.¹

¹ The Mercurius Aulicus, or Court Gazette of the time, gives the following account of the battle of Chalgrove-field, and its consequences:—

“The Earle of Essex, who before had hovered about Tame, and the adjoining villages in Buckinghamshire, this day sent a considerable party of his soldiers to look towards Oxford, who, coming within sixe or seaven miles of it, caused an alarme to be given to his majesty's forces. But this afternoon Prince Rupert went that way with some troops of horse and other forces. And this night he fell upon the rebels' quarters at Chinner, 3 miles beyond Tame, and scoured the country all night long for many miles together, so as he provoked a large body of the rebels' horse to come forth in the morning, which as soone as his royal highness had discovered, he drew off a little, on purpose to draw the enemy into a large field, which done, he appointed Master Percy's regiment for a reserve, and with Prince Charles his regiment, and his own, charged the enemy so bravely, that he slew above an hundred dead in the place, and made the rest shew the justice of their cause, that is, run away most shamefully: he tooke 6 colours, and came the same day back to his majesty, having sent his prisoners (which were almost 200) to Oxford before him, whereof the chiefest was Captaine Sheffield, sonne to the Earle of Moulgrave; their commander in chiefe, Sergeant-major Gunter, had too honourable a death, for he was shot by a noble hand. In the meane while Mas-

He was certainly a person of the greatest abilities of any of that party. He had a great ^{His character.}

ter Percyes regiment having put the reserve of the rebels to flight, fell on the flank of the enemy, and did good execution. One lusty strong rebel aimed directly at the prince himself, but his highnesse dispatched him into another world. All our noble gentlemen did as bravely now as ever, and Colonell Urrey (backed with a good cause indeed) never fought better in his life, for which his majesty knighted him the same day. We lost only six com- soldiers, but no officer nor any colour. Only the reader may collect by this, that the next London Diurnal for the occurrences of the two houses, (though one of their late pamphlets doth expressly threaten it) is not likely to bear date at Oxford.

“ Sunday, June 18.—Wee trespassed somewhat on this day in the former weeke, that memorable action against the rebels in their own quarters not being finished till this morning, though begun yesternight. The reader is therefore advertised further, that of the six colours taken in the fight, some were of the Earl of Essex’s own colours, and had painted in great capitall letters, *Cave Adsum*, to let us see with what a fury his excellency had fallen upon us; yet *cave adsum* was an admirable motto for one who never shewed his face in the battaile. Other colours they had were set out gloriously with three fair bibles, to make poor simple folke believe they fought in defence of the word of God, whereas their doctrine and practice (which maintaines perjury, rebellion, and blasphemy) would have been abominable to the very heathens.

“ Munday, June 19.—This day some other of the prisoners were brought to town, who had beene taken in the

knowledge both in scholarship and in the law. He was of a concise and significant language,

fight the day before: and with them certaine information that the victory had been greater on his majesty's part than was thought at first, in that, besides a great number of the common souldiers that were killed or taken, the rebels lost divers of their prime commanders and most able officers; Hamlden himself (who did most eagerly perswade to give the onset) being so sore wounded in two places, and his body so extreemely bruised, that it was verily conceived he could not live. And to such an height of impudence and impiety are those rebels grown, that, to hold up the hearts of their fainting souldiers, and to keepe up their reputation amongst simple people, the *Earl of Essex*, or some other by his appointment, caused publick thanksgiving. to be made that afternoone in the church at Tame, for the defeat which they had given that day unto his majesty's forces.

"Saturday, June 24.—This day we were advertised that Master John Hampden (the principal member of the five) was dead of those wounds he received on Sunday last. If so the reader may remember, that in the 15. weeks of this *Mercurius*, we told the world what faire warnings Master Hampden had received since the beginning of the rebellion, (whereof he was a chiefe incendiary;) how he had buried his sonne and heire, and his two daughters, two only sonnes surviving, whereof one was a cripple and the other a lunaticke, which, though this desperate man was unwilling to make use of, yet sure it may startle the rest of his faction; especially if they consider that *Shaw-grave-field* (where he now received this mortal wound) was the self same place where he first mustered and drew

and the mildest, yet subtlest speaker of any man in the house; and had a dexterity when a question was going to be put, which agreed not with his sense, to draw it over to it by adding some equivocal or sly word, which would enervate the meaning of it as first put. He was very well read in history, and I remember the first time I ever saw that of D'Avila of the civil wars of France, it was lent me under the title of Mr. Hambden's *Vade Mecum*; and I believe no copy was liker an original, than that rebellion was like ours. He was a man of great and plentiful estate, and of great interest in his country, and of a regular life; and though he took upon him but the title of a colonel, (for he had greater interest to raise the men than aptitude to range or fight them,) yet he thus died (as is before expressed) in a martial engagement. The news whereof (he being so eminent a man) soon came to Oxford by a tenant of Dr Giles's, who was parson of Chinner, not far from the place where the engage-

up men in armes to rebell against the king. But whether the life and death of the Lord Brooks or Master Hamptden be the better lesson against treason and rebellion, let posterity judge."—MERCURIUS AULICUS for 1642.

ment was ; who accidentally meeting me, first told it unto me, and I brought him unto the king. The doctor was a near neighbour and friend of Mr Hambden's, and being an opulent man, he had built himself a very good parsonage-house, in the contrivance of which structure Mr Hambden had used his skill. The king required the doctor, as from himself, to send to see him ; for I found the king would have sent him over any surgeon of his, if any had been wanting, for he looked upon his interest, if he could gain his affection, as a powerful means of begetting a right understanding betwixt him and his two houses. I remember how the doctor regretted the king's command, " for," says he, " I have seemed unlucky to him in several conjunctures of time, when I made addresses to him in my own behalf, for he having been formerly so kindly my friend; before I came to Oxford, we, the prebendaries of Windsor, being all turned out of our houses, in the carrying off of my goods, my waggons were robbed and plundered, though warranted by passport ; and I addressing to him for relief, my messenger came in that very instant in which the news of his eldest son's death came to him ; and some good time after falling into a like calamity, though I failed of the fruit of

his intended relief the first time, yet I hoped to have found it the second, but my messenger unfortunately met then with another, that brought the news of his beloved daughter, Mrs Knightley's death, so I seemed to screech-owl him. However, the doctor sent, and when he heard of a message from him, this poor gentleman, though he was in a high fever, and not very sensible, was much amated at it." These little stories I put down, because the discovery of great men's natures are often lively expositions of their great counsels: history being but a reduction of morals into examples. It was usually said that he had more ambition to have been the prince's governor, than any greater place; for, aiming at the alteration of some parts of the government, (for at first probably it amounted not unto a design of a total new form,) he knew of how great a consequence it would be, that a young prince should have principles suitable to what should be established as laws.

The king finding, by these experiences in the south, how tough the business was like to prove, sent me some time before into the north to the Earl of Newcastle. My commission was, (for I had but three or four words under the king's hand, written in a piece of white sarcenet, to give me credit with him,) to try

The author sent by the king into the north to the Earl of Newcastle.

what he meant to do with his army, and whether with a good part of it he would (when the season was) march up southerly, and in a distinct body keep at some distance from the king, to give a check unto the southern army. But I found him very averse to this, and perceived that he apprehended nothing more than to be joined to the king's army, or to serve under Prince Rupert; for he designed himself to be the man that should turn the scale, and to be a self-subsisting and distinct army wherever he was.¹ Which when I perceived fixed in him, being left to discretion, I thought it more reasonable to waive it, than

¹ It was unquestionably no small detriment to the affairs of King Charles, that the nobles who levied men in his behalf were more fond of shewing their power in the districts where their interest lay, and affecting a separate and independent command, than of obeying such orders and forming such junctions as were most likely to bring the war to a favourable conclusion. And the same circumstance occasioned a perpetual collision for authority among these violent spirits, wherever their several little independent armies happened to be drawn together. Such a disgust arising between the Marquis of Newcastle and Prince Rupert, occasioned the risk and eventual loss of the fatal battle of Long Marston Moor. And it was observed that the Cornish army, which had done such wonders when in a separate body, never distinguished itself after its union with the main body under the king himself.

press him to the contrary ; and, by several stories and expressions he made, I discovered he was bottomed upon this ground, and would not be brought from it. For I found with great savour he related to me the story of the arch-Irish-rebel, Tyrone, who being taken prisoner by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, and brought up to Queen Elizabeth, and Tyrone perceiving the deputy waiting in the privy-chamber, among the nobility and gentry there, without any distinguishing character of the greatness he held in Ireland, Tyrone vented himself to a countryman of his, who told it thus : " I am ashamed," says he, " to have been taken a prisoner by yon great man, who now in a crowd makes himself so low and common, as to be waiting for a woman's coming out." To descant no more upon the story, I thought I might make a full resolution, how little he intended to keep himself in a nearness with his army, to be in conjunction, if need were, with the king's ; and yet he told me that when he could quit Yorkshire, and leave it in a condition to defend itself against the before-mentioned enemies in it, (which the Yorkshire men would not have been unwilling to have adventured, if he had left them in some measure their own forces, and marched with his own more northerly

army, for they knew the parliament would command Fairfax after him,) he would march through Lincolnshire, and recruit himself there, and so over the Washes into Norfolk and Sufflk, and the associated counties; which had been a noble design. For before this, by reason of Essex and his army's improsperity at Edgehill, and the mouldering away of it about Reading, and because of the considerableness of the Lord of Newcastle's army, and the dwindling of Fairfax's about Hull, the two houses, under the conduct of the Earl of Manchester and Cromwell, whose interest lay in those counties, the one in Huntingdonshire, the other in Cambridgeshire, had associated unto them Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and the isle of Ely; and those forces were by the Earl of Essex first put under the command of the Lord Gray of Wark, yet not long after they devolved into the hands of the Lord Manchester and Cromwell. And here was the root of the independency; and this army, when afterward it

The associated counties under the direction of Manchester and Cromwell.

* The earliest mention of this interest, which afterwards predominated over every other, appears in the following passage of Mercurius Aulicus:—

“ There is lately a kind of independent regiment, one degree worse than rogues, who have erected themselves

joined with the Scotch army, and defeated the Earl of Newcastle at Marston-moor, and took in York, extinguished his glory; which, if he had pursued that design of marching into their associated counties, it had prevented, so as he had a natural foresight from whence his danger should arise, but not a good angel or genius to divert it.

It may be necessary to character these two great men, whose army did truly and really turn the scale of the whole war at Marston-moor, though we shall find afterwards another

Sir Thomas Fairfax.

in the east part of that county, who are not yet increased to above 120 in number, each man having stolen a horse to himself, in the manner of dragoons, over whom they have chosen one John Wallaston of Barnwell, a poor country knave, (but a strong desperate clown like Jack Cade,) to command in chief, though it is reported that Sir Gilbert Pickering is their patron. These goe from towne to towne where any thing is to be had, and plunder malignants (as they call them,) that is, every man that hath any money or goods worth the taking, without respect of persons. This mighty commander and his company, who before moved not above five, sometimes foure, sometimes three miles in two days, marched then so farre in one day as put the country in hope of some safety for a little time, yet the report goeth that they are returning to their old trade of plundering with all the speed that they can, now that his majesty's forces are returned to their quarters."—MERC. AUL. June 9, 1642.

head or general of it: Manchester being to be thrust out, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, a man of a military genius, undaunted courage and presence of mind in the field, both in action and danger, but of a very common understanding in all other affairs, and of a worse elocution, and so a most fit tool for Mr Cromwell to work with, being thereunto to be chosen.

Earl of
Manchester.

The Earl of Manchester, formerly known by the name of the Lord Kimbolton, was a gentleman of very good parts, and of a very good education, both at home and abroad, and of a debonair nature, but very facile or changeable; and had the misfortune to fall into ill company, or else surely he had been a very good man. He married the Earl of Warwick's daughter, and his own father, the lord privy-seal, kept him but at hard meat; insomuch as his conversation with that gang of men, Sir Nathaniel Rich, his wife's uncle, and the Earl of Warwick, his father-in-law, and the Lord Say, and the like, made him early appear a great zealot: and yet with all his good nature, or the facility of it, he did as much harm, and as rigidly managed his power given him to reform the university of Cambridge, as the worst-natured man could have done. And therefore it was supposed, though he seemed

the head, he was but the instrument of Mr Cromwell, who made great ravage in all those associated counties on the king's party.

I have no mind to give an ill character of Cromwell, for in his conversation towards me he was ever friendly; though at the latter end of the day finding me ever incorrigible, and having some inducements to suspect me a tamperer, he was sufficiently rigid. The first time that ever I took notice of him, was in the very beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman; for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes. I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, (whom I knew not,) very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth-suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean, and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hat-band, his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour, for the subject matter would not bear much of reason;

O. Crom-
well.

it being in behalf of a servant of Mr Prynne's, who had dispersed libels against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great

The celebrated satire, called *Histrio-Mastix*, as it was in itself most illiberally violent against the drama, was with equal injustice screwed and tortured by the crown lawyers into a libel upon the queen and royal family:—

“When I consider,” said one of these learned advocates, “what kind of libel it is, it is not like other libels: other libels have been by persons discontented, some poor rogues, scattered up and down; but here’s a libel in folio and in print, and justifieth itself by authors with as high hand, That is there, and that is there. And, my lords, when I consider those high passages in this book, I protest unto you they are things to be abhorred: they are not spoken relatively, (as his counsel would have it;) but positively, That our English ladies, shorn and frizled madams, have lost their modesty; that the devil is only honoured in dancing; that plays are the chief delight of the devil; that they that frequent plays are damned, and so are all that do not concur with him in his opinions, whores, pandars, foul incarnate devils, Judases to their lord and master, &c. Princes dancing in their own person, his censure of them is infamous, &c. But the foulest of all is, That this was the cause of untimely ends of princes.”—RUSHWORTH’S *Collections*, vol. II. p. 232.

counsel, for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I lived to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real, but usurped power, (having had a better tailor, and more converse among good company) in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his sergeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence. Of him therefore I will say no more, but that verily I believe he was extraordinarily designed for those extraordinary things, which one while most wickedly and facinorously he acted, and at another as successfully and greatly performed.

After the rendition of Oxford, I, living some time with the Lady Beadle, (my wife's sister) near Huntingdon, had occasion to converse with Mr Cromwell's physician, Dr Simcott, who assured me that for many years his patient was a most splenetic man, and had fancies about the cross in that town, and that he had been called up to him at midnight, and such unseasonable hours, very many times, upon a strong fancy, which made him believe he was then dying; and there went a story of him, that in the day-time, lying melancholy in his bed, he believed that a spirit appeared

His enthusiastic and splenetic temper.

to him, and told him that he should be the greatest man (not mentioning the word *king*) in this kingdom.¹ Which his uncle, Sir Thomas Steward, who left him all the little estate Cromwell had, told him was traitorous to relate. The first years of his manhood were spent in a dissolute course of life, in good fellowship and gaming, which afterwards he seemed very sensible of and sorrowful for; and as if it had been a good spirit that had guided him therein, he used a good method upon his conversion, for he declared he was ready to make restitution unto any man who would accuse him, or whom he could accuse himself to have wronged; (to his honour I speak this, for I think the public acknowledgements men make of the public evils they have done to be the most glorious trophies they can have assigned to them.) When he was thus civi-

¹ Cromwell retained, during his whole life, symptoms of transport or ecstasies, which were imputed, according to the temper of his observers, to an overstrained imagination, or to the inspiration of the Deity, or to infernal possession. Before his memorable victories of Dunbar and Worcester, his eyes were observed to sparkle, his frame became agitated, and he burst out into strange and violent fits of laughter. In a word, he was not himself altogether free from the fanatical frenzy which he knew so well to excite and to direct in others.

lized, he joined himself to men of his own temper, who pretended unto transports and revelations.

Now, not long after, the Earl of Bedford, and divers of the principal gentlemen, whose habitations confined upon the Fenns, and who in the heat of summer saw vast quantities of lands, which the fresh waters overflowed in the winter, lie dry, and green, or drainable ; whether it was public spirit or private advantage which led them thereunto, a stranger cannot determine : they make propositions unto the king to issue out commissions of sewers to drain those lands, and offer a proportion freely to be given to the crown for its countenance and authority therein. And as all these great and public works must necessarily concern multitudes of persons, who will never think they have exact justice done to them for that small pretence of right they have unto some commons, so the commissioners, let them do what they can, could never satisfy such a body of men. And now the king is declared the principal undertaker for the draining ; and by this time the vulgar are grown clamorous against these first popular lords and undertakers, who had joined with the king in the second undertaking, though they had much better provisions for them,

He became
the head of
the mal-
content
party in
the business
of the
Fenns.

than their interest was ever before, and the commissioners must by multitudes and clamours be withstood; and as a head of this faction, Mr Cromwell, in the year 1638, at Huntingdon, appears, which made his activity so well known unto his friend and kinsman, Mr Hambden, that he in this parliament gave a character of Cromwell, of being an active person, and one that would sit well at the mark, and thus he is early joined unto the most busy contrivers of the new intended changes.

He plundered his uncle and godfather, Sir Oliver Cromwell.

One thing more I have to observe concerning his temper, that whilst I was about Huntingdon, visiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, at his house at Ramsey, he told me this story of his successful nephew and godson; that he visited him with a good strong party of horse, and that he had asked him his blessing, and that the few hours he was there, he would not keep on his hat in his presence; but at the same time he not only disarmed but plundered him, for he took away all his plate.

The Independants.

Now from his personal temper we will reflect on the temper of his whole army; for they had all either naturally the fanatic humour, or soon imbibed it. But a herd of this sort of men being by him drawn together, he him-

self, like Mahomet, having transports of phansy, and withal a crafty understanding, knowing, that natural principles, though not morally good, will conduce to the attainment of natural and politic ends, made use of the zeal and credulity of those persons, teaching them, as they too readily taught themselves, that they engaged for God, when he led them against his vicegerent, the king; and where this opinion met with a natural courage, it made them the bolder, and too often the crueller; for it was such a sort of men as killed brave young Cavendish and many others, after quarter given, in cold blood. And these men, habited more to spiritual pride than carnal riot or intemperance, so consequently having been industrious and active in their former callings and professions, where natural courage wanted, zeal supplied its place; and at first they chose rather to die than fly; and custom removed fear of danger; and afterwards finding the sweet of good pay, and of opulent plunder and of preferment, suitable to activity and merit, the lucrative part made gain seem to them a natural member of godliness.* And I cannot here

* The first time that this ominous name occurs in the *Mercurius Politicus*, it is thus commemorated:—

“Friday, March 10.—This day there came advertise-

omit a character of this army, which General Fairfax gave unto myself after the rendition

ment that Mr Cromwell, one of the burgesses of the town of Cambridge, calling himself a colonel retained in the service of the two houses of parliament, (having before committed many outrages in that university, and called the heads of houses there to take down their organs and all the furniture of their chappels, and threatened to seize and dispose of all the rents of the severall colleges,) had called diverse of the gentry and many of the commonalty of the counties of Essex, Suffolke, Norfolke, Cambridge, and Hartford, to come before him; and that being come according to his summons, he caused a report to be spread amongst them, that Prince Rupert was at hand with all his forces, and thereupon advertised them how much it did concerne them to joyne together for the repulsing of the common enemy; that united forces were more proper for these times then distracted minds; that he would have them seriously to consider how acceptable a service they should doe to the king in keeping five whole counties in his obedience; and what rewards and praise they might most justly looke for from his majesty for so great a service. Such excellent arts have they to abuse the people, and make them thinke they doe good service to the king, when they endeavour to destroy him

“Friday, April 28.—It was advertised this day from Peterburgh, that Colonell Cromwell had bestowed a visit on that little city, and put them to the charge of his entertainment, plundering a great part thereof to discharge the reckoning, and further, that, in pursuance of the further reformation, he did most miserably deface the cathedrall church, breake downe the organs, and destroye the

of Oxford, upon a visit I made him ; (for my wife was his near kinswoman ;) when complimenting him with the regularity and temperance of his army, he told me, " The best common soldiers he had (for he himself was of a rational temper, not fanatical) came out of our army, and from the garrisons he had taken in. So (says he) I found you had made them good soldiers, and I have made them good men." But upon this whole matter it may appear, that the spirit of discipline of war may beget that spirit of discipline, which even Solomon describes as the spirit of wisdom and obedience. And I remember what a sober friend of mine told me, that he replied to an old acquaintance of his engaged with Fairfax, vaunting of the sanctity of their army and the negligence of ours : " Faith (says he) thou sayest true ; for in our army we have the sins of men, (drinking and wenching,) but in yours you have those of devils, spiritual pride and rebellion."

As we have thus characted Manchester

glasse windowes, committing many other outrages on the house of God, which were not acted by the Gothes at the sack of Rome, and are most commonly forbore by the Turks when they possesse themselves by force of a Christian city."—MERC. AUL. 1642.

and Cromwell, so it may be necessary to take notice of Sir William Waller, who was a favourite general of the city of London; as likewise of Alderman Browne, a woodmonger, afterwards for his civil usage of the king whilst a prisoner, well thought of, and knighted, viz. Sir Richard Browne.*

Waller.

Waller was a gentleman of courage and parts, and of a civil and ceremonious behaviour. He held a gainful farm from the crown of the butlerage and prizage of wines; but upon a quarrel between him and Sir Thomas Reynolds, a courtier, who had an interest in the farm of the wine licences, upon whom Waller having used his cudgel, and being censured and fined for it in the Star Chamber, and having a zealous lady, who used to call him "her man of God;" he engaged on the parliament side.

Browne.

Browne was a man of a clear courage and of a good understanding, and very crafty, as his treaty with the Lord Digby, then secretary of state, whilst he lay at Abington, will hereafter shew; he was presbyterian in religion,

* He was afterwards very active for the king about the time of the Restoration, and is thence termed by Ludlow, "that apostate wood-monger."

as well as parliamentary in civil affairs, but fell off from both at last. His interest in the city made his small flying body of men (for he moved sometimes alone) very considerable for their stoutness, more than for their number.

Major-general Skippon was another favourite of the city; he was their confidant when they were first poisoned in their loyalty, and was always a guide in the Earl of Essex his army, and a high presbyterian, and bred in Holland.

The year 1642 having thus begun the civil war, (for the fever then broke forth,) the two years after, 1643 and 1644, brought the dis-

Philip Skippon, an old blunt Low-Country soldier, was the person whom the city of London placed at the head of their trained-bands, in disciplining and commanding whom he shewed good military talent. At the battle of Naseby he commanded the infantry, and although severely wounded, did not leave the field till the victory was secure. He went all lengths, (although a presbyterian,) first with the republicans, and afterwards with Cromwell, which complying temper might be a cause of his being excepted, as afterwards noticed by our author, from the influence of the Self-Denying Ordinance. He had a thousand pounds a-year settled upon him by parliament, out of the Duke of Buckingham's forfeited estate. It is averred by Walker, that he served in the Low Countries in the capacity of waggoner to Sir Edward Vere.

ease to its height or crisis, and in every part of the land there was too plentiful a letting blood.

The fight at Stafford, where was killed the Earl of Northampton, with an account of his six sons.

In this year, in the encounter about Stafford, was slain (though he died victorious) that most noble and stout lord, the Earl of Northampton, by Sir William Brereton and Sir John Gell's forces, which was a considerable loss; for his person was very valuable, and he had been bred with the king, being gentleman of his robes, and he had as much love to his master as loyalty.¹ This may be

¹ "It was on a Sunday, about the middle of March, when in the afternoon he marched out of Stafford; his party consisting of horse and dragoons, and some few foot, the whole number being under one thousand, and found the enemy in very good order, expecting them upon a place called Hopton-Heath, some two miles from Stafford. Though the number was more than double to the earl's, yet the heath seeming very fair, the breadth of it being more than musket-shot from enclosure on each side, and the number of his horse being at least equal to the other, he resolved to charge them; and accordingly did, with so good success, that he totally routed that part of their horse; and rallying again his men, he charged the other part of their horse, which stood more in shelter of their foot; and so totally routed and dispersed them, that the enemy had scarce a horse left upon the field; and took likewise from them eight pieces of cannon.

"In this second charge, the Earl of Northampton being

said of him, that he faithfully served his master, living and dead; for he left six eminent sons, who were all heirs of his courage, loyalty, and virtue, whereof the eldest was not then twenty. At the battle at Edgehill the eldest was absent, but Sir Charles and Sir William charged in the troop with their father. Sir Spencer, though not able to grasp a pistol, yet in indignation cried, that he was not exposed to the same hazard his brothers were. After their father's death, the young lord had the same charge in the army his father had before, and was in all his rencounters forward, stout, and fortunate, and Sir Charles gave the like account of himself in the

engaged on the execution very near, or among their foot, had his horse killed under him. So that his own horse, (according to their unhappy practice,) with too much fury pursuing the chace, he was left encompassed by his enemies. What his behaviour was afterwards, and their carriage towards him, can be known only by the testimony of the rebels; who confessed, that after he was on his feet he killed with his own hand the colonel of foot who made first haste to him, and that after his head-piece was stricken off with the butt-end of a musquet, they offered him quarter; which they say he refused, answering, that he scorned to take quarter from such base rogues and rebels as they were. After which he was slain by a blow with a halbert on the hinder part of his head, receiving at the same time another deep wound on his face."—CLARENDON, II. 114.

command of the horse. Sir William signalized himself in defending Banbury Castle against a long and powerful siege, in which action he shewed much of an old soldier (though a young man never engaged before) in fortifying the place, cheering his men, and so ordering his provisions, that they served him to extremity, and until he was relieved. Sir Spencer soon applied himself unto the service of our present king, and was as eminently pious as courageous and knowing. Sir Francis was of so tender age, that he came not into play till his present majesty's happy restitution, but since shewed himself in the command he hath of a troop of horse in his majesty's guard here at home, and abroad in Flanders, equal to his brothers. Mr Henry Compton, the youngest, addicted himself to his book, and made such a progress in all sorts of learning, that he was soon eminent, which he improved by his travels into foreign parts, and he entered himself into the military list; but the grave prelates, conscious of his abilities to serve the church, soon brought him into orders, and his majesty's value of the family, and of himself, made him a speedy passage to that high preferment which he now possesses, and (to the satisfaction of the church,

court, and city) exercises at present as Bishop of London.'

In the same year the Earl of Newcastle got an important victory over the Lord Fairfax at Adderton-moor, wherein this is memorable, that when the day seemed lost on his side, and many of his horse and foot standing doubtful and wavering, a stand or body of pikes, which being not useful where the two armies were strongest engaged, came up to the defence of their foot, and charged by Fairfax's horse, repelling them, gave leisure to rally horse and foot, and by the credit thereof entirely defeated Fairfax's army, and drove him and his scattered troops into Hull. This victory made the earl seem lord of the north, for from Berwick to Newcastle, and from Newcastle to Newark, all was the king's, and the chief nobility and gentry engaged in his army, and several towns and castles garrisoned for him; particularly the town of Newcastle, the city of York, and the Earl of Newcastle's own house, Welbeck; the Lord Frecheville's house, Stalvey; and the Earl of Chesterfield's, Shelford; and that most important garrison, Newark.

Battle at
Adderton-
moor.

* He survived the Revolution, and at that period took arms to escort the Princess Anne from London to Nottingham.

The king's
forces in
Lincoln-
shire, Lei-
cestershire,
and Shrop-
shire.

And at this time Mr Charles Cavendish, brother to the Earl of Devonshire, was very prosperous with a small flying army in Lincolnshire; and Mr Hastings, afterwards Lord Loughborough, second son to the Earl of Huntingdon, was considerable both in his garrison and small flying body about Ashby-de-la-Zouch, in Leicestershire. Beaver Castle was likewise garrisoned, and many more might be named north-west, as Ludlow, Bridgenorth, Shrewsbury, the Wyches, and so up to Chester; and in Wales, Cherk Castle and Montgomery Castle, &c. All which is but mentioned to shew how universal the conflagration was, for the parliament party wanted not some forces in all those places to balance; though not out-balance, the king's party.

Bristol
surrender-
ed by

Mr Fien-
nes.

In this year, in the west the king reduced that most important trading town, Bristol, which was garrisoned by the parliament, and commanded by a gentleman, Mr Nathaniel Fiennes, who had more of the learning of the gown-men, (whether we consider them as lawyers or divines,) than he had of the sword; and who a little before had detected a conspiracy by the sheriff of that city, one Mr Yeomans, and Mr Bouchier, and Dakers and others, to deliver up that place to the king; but he seized on them, and executed them,

being forwarder to exercise an act of cruelty, than he was to shew (when the place came actually to be besieged) an act of courage to defend it.

The west was not managed to the best advantage ; for Prince Maurice being assigned a commander in chief, though he was a very brave prince and a good soldier, yet those countries hankering after the Earl of Hartford, or some great man among themselves, were not at first so pliant and hearty as otherwise probably they would have been. However, soon after the rendition of Bristol to the king, the brave young Earl of Carnarvan, a gentleman of an excellent spirit, (though formerly he had made use of his wit somewhat profanely, which humour he now shook off, and turned into seriousness and extraordinary diligence,) with that flying body he commanded, had rendered to him Portland, Weymouth, and Melcomb, who soon submitted and became loyal ; as unto Prince Maurice did the city of Exeter, the town of Barnstable, and indeed most of the western counties in their inland parts became the king's.

Thus highly, even unto a miracle, considering his small beginning, did the king prosper both in the north and west ; and this good success made the blood boil even in the asso,

Affairs in the west managed by Prince Maurice.

Earl of Hartford,

and

Earl of Carnarvan,

Exeter delivered up to the king.

Lynn surprised.

Siege of
Gloucester.

ciated counties ; for the town of Lynn was surpris'd for his majesty by some of the gentry there ; but his affairs not long continuing prosperous, was by Manchester soon retaken. But the issue shewed, that Providence made this dispensation, tending more unto the punishment of the nation, than unto the resettlement of the royal family. One (or the like) council in both quarters, north and west, soon blasted the prosperity in each place ; for the king pitched upon that fatal resolution, recommended to him, as it is said, by the Lord Culpeper, (who wanted no loyalty,) of besieging Gloucester, and who thought it a good policy not to leave a strong town behind him. But the counsel proved fatal, for had the king at that time resolv'd in himself to have struck at the proud head of London, and had had authority enough at that time to have required the Earl of Newcastle to have joined with him, (both armies being never in so good a state, and the countries which they commanded so free and secure,) humanly speaking, he had rais'd such confusion among the two houses and Londoners, that they had either sent him his own terms, or, if they had fought him, most probably he had been victorious. For the countries about London were well affected to the king's cause ; and many

in London passionately wished for his approach. But henceforward it befell the king's forces, as it did the Israelites, who, being discouraged by the great number of spies, would not march up towards Canaan, where they might have entered within two years after their exit from Egypt; but their refractoriness losing them their opportunity, made them wander in the wilderness forty years. Upon which, that good historian, Sir Walter Raleigh, makes this observation, "That the times of grace and of man's repentance have a set appointment;" or, in plainer terms, "often-times divine Providence gives a man but one single season to lay hold on." But the king fixes on Gloucester, and the Earl of Newcastle as fatally about the same time sets down before Hull.

Gloucester was at that time held by Massey for the parliament; but the king opining there too long, Essex at London got up a strong army in order to the relief of it, and the king upon his approach drawing off too late, his foot could not accompany his horse; so as vigilant and forward Prince Rupert, who

* The over-worn quotation from Shakespeare, "There is a tide in the affairs of men," &c. will readily occur to every one's recollection.

was advanced with the horse, not willing to let slip the advantage he had in the open grounds about Auburn-chase, made so brave a charge on Essex's army, that he routed many great bodies both of their horse and foot; where, and in the next battle after at Newbury, the Lord Gerrard appeared eminent; and had the foot been there, most probably they had made the victory entire.

Newbury
fight, where
were kill-
ed,

The king in the mean time hastening with his foot, possessed himself of Newbury, intending to hinder Essex's retreat to London, which he projected to have done without fighting, but forced thereunto by a sharp engagement, made his way open; the country there being very advantageous for the service of his foot. Essex lost many more men than did the king; yet making his passage open towards Reading, and some persons on the king's side who fell that day being much more valuable than any that were slain of Essex's party, the honour of the day seemed to belong unto that side. For here fell that

The Earl of
Carnarvan,

brave young Earl of Carnarvan;¹ who, having

¹ He was slain by some straggling troopers as he returned carelessly after the rout of the body of cavalry opposed to him. A person, according to Clarendon, with whose great parts and virtue the world was not well enough ac-

changed much of his disordered course of life before, gave such evidences of repentance now, that, had he lived, most probably he would have been as great an example of virtue as ever he had been before of extravagancy.

And here was extinguished that fine flame, which made splendid that excellent soul of the Lord Faulkland, then secretary of state, ¹ the Lord Faulkland, whose courage carried him too far in this engagement; and here likewise fell that modest, ^{and} courageous, and loyal young lord, the Earl ^{the Earl of} of Sunderland, ^{Sunderland.} ² whose family of Spencers was

quainted. He had travelled before the war, and visited not only France, Spain, and Italy, but also Turkey, and in his early youth seemed much given up to the exercises of the field. But upon assuming the character of a soldier, he severely abstained from those licenses for which others have pleaded the military profession as an apology. He was a lover of justice, strict in observing his word, and, in short, as his life was an honour to the cause which he embraced, his untimely death was a sensible wound to it.

¹ See the animated and affectionate panegyric of his friend Clarendon upon "a person of such prodigious parts, of learning and knowledge, of that inimitable sweetness and delight in conversation, of so flowing and obliging a humanity and goodness to mankind, and of that primitive simplicity and integrity of life, that, if there were no other brand upon this odious and accursed civil war than that single loss, it must be most infamous and execrable to all posterity."—CLARENDON, *II.* 270.

² He was only twenty-three years old, and served as a

ever sound in its root, and in all its numerous branches.

Siege of
Hull.

And as if the same misguiding spirit had reigned in the north, though the counsellor thereof had much more reason to be suspected, the Earl of Newcastle sate down before Hull, upon the advice (it was said) of his lieutenant-general, King. Upon a second dispatch from Oxford, I was then in the north with this great lord; for it was then very doubtful at Oxford, whether the Scots, who had now raised an army, would march in in behalf of the king, or of the parliament; for Duke Hamilton's intelligence made it very doubtful; for, like all the rest, he never read their true meaning until their design was not to be prevented; but thus cautious his letters were, that they most commonly doubted. The Earl of Newcastle's horse lying on the Lincolnshire side of Hull, and he with his army lying before it on the north, I found him of a very cheery complexion, and hopeful to reduce that town. I went down to see his trenches and works, and found (the season having been very wet) his men standing ankle deep in dirt, a great distance from the town; so, as I con-

volunteer in the king's troop, where he died by a cannon shot.

ceived, those without were likelier to rot than those within to starve ; and by assault there was not the least probability to carry it. Upon my return to him, relating but faintly and modestly my thoughts, (for he knew I had not the least part of a soldier to warrant a discourse upon that subject) he merrily put it off, saying, " You often hear us called the popish army ; but you see we trust not in our good works." I returned to York, and not long after he found it fit to draw off his army.

About this time, young Sir Henry Vane and Stephen Marshall, the great archiepiscopal presbyter, were got into Scotland, where the king's miscarrying at Gloucester, and this great man's at Hull, with some other advantageous propositions, like Jonathan's tasting a little honey upon the point of his wand, opened the Scots' eyes, and renewed their fainting resolutions ; and they found, and said, " It was as reasonable for them to assist the two houses of parliament in England against the king, as it was for Queen Elizabeth to assist the lords of the congregation in Scotland against the Queen of Scots."

The commissioners sent into Scotland by the parliament.

And now the Scotch covenant must be fitted to serve both England and Scotland ; and the English must swear to abjure their esta-

Scotch covenant imposed in England.

blished church government, before they had any proposed in place of it. Here the commissioners of the several nations endeavour to outwit one another; and so the Scots must alter our English church according to the best reformed churches; (and that must necessarily be the kirk of Scotland;) and sly Sir Henry Vane adds, according unto the word of God; and that would as tolerably propose for a pattern independency. And thus they willingly cozened themselves and one another, and as many more as would swallow this gilded pill. And as these tender men were far from being scrupulous in breaking oaths, which they had taken themselves about things known and established by law, so they make no scruple to take new oaths, and to make others swear to maintain the privileges of both kingdoms' parliaments, (which were things never yet, nor perchance ever will be, defined,) and the penalty of refusing this covenant must be no less than being declared an enemy unto religion, unto the king's honour, and the kingdom's peace, with the loss of all offices and places, and incapacity to receive any other in the future.

The Scots march into England, to assist the parliament.

About this time comes out of Scotland an advertisement from Hamilton unto the Earl of Newcastle, by one Mr Neal, (an intelligent

person, and who managed all the affairs of Mr William Murray,) to warn the Earl of the Scots' intention to march into England, and to leave it to him, whether he would not garrison Berwick and Carlisle in prevention of the Scots doing so. This smelled too rank with my lord of Newcastle, who dispatched away Neal to Oxford; but he replied to the duke, "That this action would be against the treaty, ratified by the parliaments of both nations upon the pacification, and might give the Scots just occasion to complain of the king, and so consequently just reason for their intended march." But the Scots were not so scrupulous, for they soon after garrisoned those places; and if Hamilton had had a mind to have made any adventure for the king, (as there were great flutterings seemingly to do it; for under pretence of honouring my Lady Roxburgh's funeral with their presence, 1000 horse, pretenders to serve the king, met with the duke there, not far from Berwick borders, but parted without any such resolution,) it had been an easy matter for them to have seized Berwick; and then peradventure not unfit for the Marquis of Newcastle to have owned them. But, to say no more, all the Scotch endeavours of the king's party vanished into smoke, and the Scotch army marches

unto the parliament's assistance; and Duke Hamilton and his brother come post to Oxford to tell a fair, though a lamentable tale. And Hamilton might justly think himself in no great danger, though guilty, when a Scotch army was in England, and joined unto the English. But to Oxford he comes, and there the representations made of him unto the king, even by some of his own countrymen, conclude him guilty; but here the two brothers are distinguished, the duke being imprisoned, his brother set free. And not long after the king conferred his place of master of the horse on Prince Rupert; which he was prest unto, for fear that Hamilton might return to a capacity of recozening him, which, though the king charges him not with directly and openly, yet he seems not to disown.

Declension of the king's affairs.

From this time the king's affairs run all into the wain. The two houses, who had the wealth and trade of London, had the strength in a manner of all England; for here was truly the Spanish West Indies, and it made the case betwixt the king and the two houses like that betwixt the Venetian and a proud Spanish ambassador there, who, coming into their arsenal, and seeing their treasures, and a massy chain of gold lying upon the ground,

he turned it, and spurned it, until they asked him, what he sought? "The root," says he, "it seems, is here above ground with you, but in my master's country it grows below." Thus was London an inexhaustible fountain, and such an hydra, that, if it had one head cut off, there sprang up presently another; for about this time one Meldrum, a Scot, was entrusted with a very considerable body of horse and foot, to besiege that important garrison of Newark: which town gained, would have cut off all intercourse betwixt the king and the Earl of Newcastle. About that time Prince Rapert, who seemed the life of the king's army, was recruiting his own army, in order to the defence of the north, in Lincolnshire, Shropshire, and Cheshire, upon the Scots coming in; but the Newarkers importuning his majesty, he receives positive orders in the first place to relieve that town; and before he marches thither, we will make a halt in those northern proceedings, and view what the king and the Earl of Essex and Waller do here in the west of England.

About this time, it being about the year 1644, the two houses being assured that the Scots were entering this kingdom on their behalfs, they reckoned and made too true an account, that they had overbalanced the king's

Essex and
Waller's
progress in
the West.

party in the north ; for, besides the Scots army and Fairfax's army, they had appointed Manchester and Cromwell to attend that service ; and then strengthening Essex and Waller, they sent them out with two considerable armies to besiege the king, if he should stay in Oxford, or to fight him, in case they should draw him into the field, Prince Rupert being then absent. But the king taking a resolution not to be besieged, and amusing Waller by a strong party of horse under the command of the Earl of Cleveland, a nobleman of a daring courage, full of industry and activity, as well as firm loyalty, and usually successful in what he attempted, he so bravely bearded Waller, that the king in the mean time, who had carried this design with all secrecy, with a well-selected body of horse and foot, marched out of Oxford towards Worcester, where the Earl of Cleveland at a certain rendezvous joined him ; and Essex and Waller finding themselves deceived, and believing that the king would march to join with Prince Rupert, and having no good intelligence between themselves, they resolved that Essex should march into the west, and Waller follow the king.

Earl of
Cleveland.

Waller was a man of more courage, and reckoned a good soldier than of good fortune,

for the year before he received a considerable loss at Lansdown fight, by the Lord Hopton, not far from Bath ; though in that fight fell that excellent person, Sir Bevil Greenville, a man of great integrity, courage, and interest in his country. But a small accident did great mischief that day to the Lord Hopton's party ; for the greatest part of his ammunition took fire, and he himself was much singed and defaced by it, so as for want of powder he was forced to march into the town of the Devizes ; which Waller coming to understand, he took courage again, and came to besiege Hopton there ; and had not the king soon sent the Lord Wilmot and Carnarvan to relieve him, he had not been in a posture to defend himself. But here the king's forces at Roundwaydown bravely charging him, gave him an entire defeat.

Lansdown
fight, where
fell Sir Be-
vil Green-
vill.

Round-
waydown
battle.

He had not much better luck this year in the pursuit of the king, for the king understanding that Essex was marched into the west, suddenly turns back upon him, and at Cropedy bridge, (which Waller would have forced) the king defeated him. How it came about, most men were ignorant, but the Lord Wilmot, then general of the horse, was that day twice taken prisoner, and Sir William Boteler, a gentleman of extraordinary zeal to his

Cropedy
bridge.

majesty's service, and Sir William Clerke, his countryman, of the same affections, by extraordinary service that day signalized their deaths.

The king's
march into
Cornwall.

The king after this victory immediately marches into the west, as far as Cornwall, and at Liscard surprises some of Essex's chief field-officers; and having Essex's army at bay, the king (still desirous of peace) sent to Essex a letter, that a general peace might be treated betwixt them; but he denied any such power in himself, and rather chose to desert his army, and from Salt-ash in a small boat to get to Plymouth, than to be instrumental in so good a work. Thus stubborn can disloyalty make a man, that he shall choose to cast off natural allegiance to maintain unnatural conspiracy. And the general thus fled, Skippon (major-general of his foot) had articles granted him to march away with his men from Listithiel to Pool, and from thence, if they pleased, to Portsmouth; but not to bear any arms before they came thither.

Lord Wil-
mot.

Here the Lord Wilmot, who commanded the king's horse, was playing another prank of accommodation and treaty, and proposing the Prince of Wales, (though the king present) to be the mediator of the peace; but

the king resolutely removes him from the head of his charge, and places General Goring in his stead, who certainly was as good a soldier as any the king had. But, had he in the beginning of this war made Portsmouth as defensible, as with the few men he had he for a time defended it, most probably the king thereby had been master of the west. But, to shew the infirmity of the government, this important town lay so neglected in its fortifications, and the parliament having got the king's navy into their hands, it was the first town that the parliament, by a formal siege, wrung from the king, and now it is their sanctuary for their broken army to march in to. Here Goring, who had turned wantonness into riot, turned riot into madness: (which I mention, because I believe hereby the townsmen's good affections were lost, and to shew princes, that when they give way to the vices of their commanders, though they be never so brave men, they seldom recompence their neglects by any future diligence; for a prince must be an awe to all that serve him, else he is a servant to their humour.) And this brave gentleman had two companions that fed his debauch, but had not his bravery; that a careful state would have removed them from him, or all three from future trust.

General
Goring.

Failures
in Wilmot,
Earl of
Newcastle,
and

Lord Dig-
by.

Thus, had not the Earl of Newcastle affected an independency, and Wilmot not borne too much kindness to Essex, or Goring not favoured too much his own riot, the conclusion of this war might have been as glorious to their master as it was fatal : or had not the Lord Digby this year given a fatal direction unto that excellent Prince Rupert, to have fought the Scotch army, surely that great prince and soldier, after he had relieved York, by the three armies drawing off their siege from it, had never so precipitately and ruinously fought them. But whether his directions were positive, as he said, or an intimation only, that the king could have wished it, as the Lord Digby said, or whether it was the fault of the Lord Newcastle, that, according to promise, he came not soon enough out with his men to the assistance of the prince, falls not under my knowledge or intelligence. Sure I am, had the north this summer been as successful as was the west, (which we see probably might have been,) or had not Wilmot's unreasonable propositions, and worse managing of it, lessened the victory there, (for by that means Essex's horse, of about five and twenty hundred, broke forth and freed themselves,) the scale of victory had most likely turned on his majesty's side.

We will now look back into the north, and mark the steps by which that army was brought to nought, and the general thereof necessitated in a small ship to transport himself to Hamburg, as Essex had in a small boat been forced to fly to Plymouth. The prince, though it gave him great interruption, having received positive orders from Oxford, by the hands of Sir Edward Osborne, formerly under the Earl of Strafford, vice-president of the north, (a gentleman of great loyalty, activity, and prudence,) to march immediately towards the relief of Newark, where the persons in it for loyalty and activity, and for consideration in their countries, Nottingham and Lincolnshire, were as important as the place; for had all garrisons been managed as this was, by that excellent person, Mr Sutton, afterwards Lord Lexington, Sir Gervase Clifton, Sir Gervase Ayres, &c., and the large contribution belonging thereto, so truly employed by the governor, to keep up a full garrison, (which, in too many other places, riot or covetousness mis-spent,) most probably the war on his majesty's part had been much more successful.

The king's
army ruined
in the
north.

Sir Ed-
ward Os-
borne.

Siege of
Newark.

Sutton, af-
terwards
Lord Lex-
ington.

As soon as the prince came before it, though the enemy were very strong and very well posted, and very resolute, (for Meldrum, a

Sir Rich-
ard Byron.

Scot, and a good soldier, though formerly highly obliged to the king, and his menial servant, in order to make way for his countrymen, managed this siege with great stoutness and diligence,) the resolution and bravery of the prince, and the forwardness and stoutness of this garrison, whereof Sir Richard Byron, a person of great courage, and whose brother, the Lord Byron, was of a great name and reputation in the king's army, and afterwards governor of Chester, played all their parts so well, that, after a sharp engagement to the danger of the prince's person, he relieved that place; and with this honour (and it was great honour) retreated back into Cheshire and Lancashire to recruit his forces, where by the by he relieved that heroic lady, the Countess of Derby, who had maintained, for eighteen weeks at least, her lord's house, called Latham, against a close siege; but Fairfax and Meldrum had better fortune at Selby, against Colonel Bellasis, now Lord Bellasis, (though he made a good defence,) where he lay at an out-work or reserve for the Marquis of Newcastle at York; which by this time he was forced to quit, and leave under the command of Sir Thomas Glenham, that he himself might march towards Newcastle, to make head against the Scots, upon

their first entering into this kingdom. But the chief guidance of his army being under General King, a Scot, he knew so well how to manage it, not knowing otherwise how to repress the English courage, that the Scots one while were beaten, and another victorious, till at last came to them from Hull a body of about 3000 English, many among them being stout seamen; that at a place called Hilton, a considerable loss befel the Marquis of Newcastle's foot, and he immediately thereupon marched back to York. Not long after Fairfax joins his army unto the Scots.

This storm made the queen (who was ever more forward than stout) to remove from Oxford unto Exeter, where, being with child, she was delivered of Princess Henrietta, and soon after embarks for France; for the two houses had impeached her of treason.

The queen removes to Exeter, where she was delivered of the Princess Henrietta.

The Marquis of Newcastle about this time being cooped up in York, and besieged by three armies, General Lesley's, (or the Scots,) Fairfax's, (or that of the north,) and Manchester's, (or that of the associated counties,) he was often very warmly assaulted; and he and his men as stoutly defended themselves, to the great loss and some considerable wasting of those three armies, about two months, for he had excellent foot, and stout and resolute com-

York besieged.

manders ; and in this compact place Lieutenant-General King so demeaned himself, that as he shewed eminency in soldiery and personal stoutness, so there appeared no want of loyalty, for now he fought not singly against his own nation. By this time Prince Rupert, with a very good army, (Goring being joined to him with the northern horse,) drew nigh to them, and was by them conceived so considerable, that they drew off and quitted the siege. And thus the princee had done his work, if he had not thought fit to have overdone it. For, contrary to the usual axioms of war in such cases, he took a fatal one ; the mortal wound being here given to all the king's affairs, for ever after they did but languish, and were under the chirurgeon's hands. I have lightly mentioned the occasion of this resolution to be the unfortunate pen of the Lord Digby, who indeed was a well-accomplished gentleman, and of great parts, natural and acquired, and was now secretary of state, and was as gallant with his sword as eminent with his tongue or pen ; but he had likewise so much of a romantic spirit, and of such super-refined policies, that, as the Lord Bacon says, " there are some things which have more wonder in them than worth ;" so as these eminences made him never prosper-

Lord Dig-
by.

ous either to himself or to his master. But the prince engaging thus unadvisedly in the plain of Marston-moor, the third of July, 1644, here unexpectedly the horse and part of the army, commanded by Goring, totally routed General Lesley and the Lord Fairfax, who were both driven out of the field, and came not back to their army in two days : but the prince's horse that day failing of their accustomed valour, Cromwell (who had experience of what import a good reserve was in the day of battle,) came and turned the scale : and though the Marquis of Newcastle's foot stood like a wall, yet he mowed them down like a meadow ;^{*} so, as Prince Rupert was forced to march off towards Chester with the *debris* of the army, about 6000 horse and dragoons ; and the Marquis of Newcastle, with the Lord Falconbridge, Lord Witherington, and Sir Hugh Cholmley, and many more, took shipping at Scarborough, and were transported to Hamburgh.

The battle
of Marston
moor.

^{*} These gallant bands were, from their white woollen dress, called Newcastle's Whitecoats, and sometimes his Lambs. They fell without abandoning the ranks in which they were drawn up, nor would they accept of quarter.

York sur-
rendered.

The armies set down again before York; and after twelve days (no hope of relief being visible,) Sir Thomas Glenham, who commanded in it, yielded it upon honourable terms, both to his small forces, who were to march out with flying colours, bag and baggage, to Skipton in the Dales, and with advantageous conditions, in respect of their composition to the gentry and townsmen there.

Newbury
second
fight.

Thus all things conspired against this good but unfortunate king, for this last recited misadventure befel his affairs in a very ill period of time, when he himself had in the west defeated Essex's army: but the reputation of this northern success made the two houses soon recruit that again; so, as before the king could march back to Oxford, both Essex and Manchester had opportunity to join themselves; and a second engagement at Bucklebury-heath, near Newbury, was entered into, where the king was again worsted; but drawing off his great cannon to Dennington-Castle, he marched away to Oxford, which castle Essex presently besieged: but the king soon relieved it, as he did likewise Basing-House, besieged by Waller. After this follows a treaty betwixt the king and the two houses at Uxbridge; but they, who whilst

their affairs were doubtful, would not abate of their unreasonable conditions, had not then the humanity to make them more tolerable now.

As yet the Scots and presbyterian party seemed to be the ruling interest in the two houses, and the Scotch covenant to be the idol ; and in order to get this form of church service allowed by the king, Archbishop Laud must be taken out of the way, and his process made, and his condemnation passed, as hath been before recited. But these bloody men were as near the end of their reign as was the king ; for the independants gave way to this treaty at Uxbridge, to amuse the presbyterian with the hope of reforming the church according to their model, and though the king offered here, in point of the church and civil government, such articles as no reasonable men could have rejected, yet the Scotch commissioners so thunder out their new-coined terms of *Congregational*, *Classical*, *Synodical assemblies*, and so exalt them, that the king's commissioners knew not how to govern themselves, but by desiring to reduce the discourse unto what the other side had asserted ; that the constitution of the church of England contained somewhat in it contrary to the word of God, and to the prejudice of the civil state ;

Archbishop Laud condemned to die by an ordinance of the two houses.

Treaty at Uxbridge.

which Doctor Lany would have kept them unto the proof of, but they stormingly declined this. Then Doctor Hammond so readily, meekly, and fully refuted the interpretation they put upon all their texts, which they brought in behalf of their presbytery and covenant, that their impatience and their prosperity soon made them resolve to conclude this treaty. And the independant laughed all this while in his sleeve at both parties, for soon after, (we being now come into the year 1645,) he cuts the grass under the presbyterian's feet, and comes out with a new project of a self-denying ordinance, for discarding all members of either house from all gainful, civil, and military employments: for saints must not be self-seekers or men of this world.

Self-denying ordinance.

The parliament army new modelled.

By this they cast off Essex, Manchester, Waller, Lord Gray of Grooby, &c., by land, and the Earl of Warwick by sea; and, in a word, all that gang of men that first began the rebellion, and Sir Thomas Fairfax is elected their general. But as every rule must have some exception, so care must be taken that Cromwell and Ireton, and, to please the city, Presbyter Skippon, must retain their charges in the army; and an independent army was soon found of spirit enough to purge a presbyterian House of Commons; for it will

not belong before we find them doing as much, first, for Mr Hollis and Sir Philip Stapleton, and those leading men there, and soon after for the numerous body of them, dragging them out of the house, to prove the freedom of parliaments, and driving them from this city, from which they had driven their king. But, possessing now the real authority, they dispossessed not themselves of their usual dissimulation, and therefore they made some compliances with their council of state, where sat the Earl of Northumberland, who favoured the independant, and where sat the Earl of Essex, who still countenanced the Scots and their covenant; and which council was throughout thus divided, nay, though Cromwell in the House of Commons solemnly protested great obedience and fidelity to be in the army towards the civil power. (for the king was yet in a condition to struggle,) the Prince of Wales, attended by the Lord Culpeper and Sir Edward Hyde, being in the west, endeavouring to associate those counties, and to raise a new army, and the king at Oxford, in a condition to leave that place (at least for a time) defensible, and to march northerly with a small flying army, they yet forbear to play those pranks which thus early we have hinted will follow.

New council of state.

**Fairfax's
design on
Oxford.**

The parliament having embodied a very considerable numerous army, the first resolve is to besiege the king if he stayed in Oxford ; but the king resolving not to be cooped up in a town with a small, but well-appointed army, marches out from thence. Now, though the king had understood both by his own intelligence, and from Goring, that this new independent army, elated with their own prosperity and their master's, being grown weary of the war, through the factions among themselves, were resolved to end all by some sharp battle with the king ; yet the king, once out of Oxford, declined the counsel which Goring gave him, of calling him with his western army from before Taunton, and to have joined his horse at least to himself. If the state of affairs had been duly and fully weighed, a necessity lay on his majesty to have kept all his forces close together, or to have been in such a nearness for conjunction, as might have made one day the decider of the whole controversy ; but we still wanted some daring resolution, and so chose rather to die of a hectic fever, than of an acute one. For Goring had at least 2500 good horse, besides a body of dragoons ; and a victory over these new men most probably (the old being so highly discontented) would have brought an honour-

able peace, if not means for a prosperous war. But I fear our chief commanders so little loved one another, that they were not fitted for conjunction. But Goring's proposition not accepted, the king marched as far as Chester, to relieve that city, then besieged; which relieved, he as fast marches back again, and by the way by assault takes in Leicester, which Fairfax (who now lay at the siege of Oxford) having intelligence of, immediately rises from that siege, and advances upon the king with a resolution to fight his army. Had the king had Goring in any nearness now, or at Chester foreseen what he might want, and caused Goring to have expedited his marches towards him at some appointed rendezvous, (the necessity of such a conjunction being very obvious,) such a prudence would have been an evidence of a good providence. But the king coming so near to this so often and so lately victorious army, as Leicester was to Oxford, they so suddenly drew off from thence towards the king, that we may say that it was one of the first news that he had of them, that they had beaten up a considerable horse-quarter of his at Naisby : Prince Rupert lying then at Harborough, where, at a council of war, a resolution was taken of marching back and fighting the enemy, who was most eager to

Naisby
battle.

fight the king. Many disallowed this advice, because it was so soon after a late ruffe given unto so considerable a party; and because, if the enemy had followed them, they might have chosen their own ground, and made their advantages; but he that censures counsels, and is unacquainted with the true reasons on which they were grounded, as he commits an error himself, so he leads others into the same. I penetrated the affair no deeper, and I give the best account I could learn from others, of it.

The sad issue of this battle.

The issue of the battle was, that Prince Rupert made so brave a charge, that he routed Fairfax's left wing, which was commanded by Ireton, who made a soldierly and notable defence. But Cromwell falling upon Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who commanded the left wing, (and in whose body there were some trivial, but pernicious disputes, betwixt him and the commander of the Newark horse,) that wing was soon routed; and then he applying himself unto the assistance of the main body of his army, which was then engaged with the king's main body, he entirely carried the day, and made a very great slaughter. And after this day we may say the king's whole party fell into convulsive fits, or made strong motions, which were but indications

of a dying body. For not long after, Bridgewater and Bristol, and the western garrisons, fall into Fairfax's hands; and Pomfret, and Scarborough, and West-Chester, (where the king received in person another kind of defeat, and where Lord Bernard Steward, then Earl of Lichfield, who commanded the king's guards, was unfortunately slain) soon yielded; and all places, like ripe figs without pulling, fall into the eater's mouth: so disastrous are the consequences of a great battle lost.

And now the king, like a hunted partridge, flits from one garrison to another, until he comes to Newark; and there he meets with an hitherto unsuspected governor, Sir Richard Willis, a gentleman stout enough and soldier enough, and one who, by the downright proof of the intelligence he held with Cromwell when his present majesty was abroad,¹

The king
goes to
Newark.

* Sir Richard Willis, after maintaining a high character for loyalty and honour among the cavaliers, at length stooped to become the spy of Cromwell,—an office which he discharged without suspicion or discovery, until the very eve of the Restoration, when his treachery was found out and made public by Mordaunt. He made the wretched apology, that he had exercised his base trade with great regard to the safety of the ancient true cavaliers, and had thrown the weight of his discoveries upon the presbyte-

might warrant a credulity, that the irreverence he now shewed to his majesty flowed not from an ill intelligence with the Lord Digby, but from a disloyalty. And that which wounded the king most in this insolent action was, that through the heat of passion, and the ill understanding betwixt the Lord Digby and the prince, the prince was engaged to countenance Willis's insolence towards him. But so great are the transports of passion, that they too often blind very good understandings; and it was a very great impatience and forgetfulness of duty in the prince, for the king's condition was properer to have begot compassion in an enemy, than to have raised neglect in so near a kinsman and dependant. But the king was so gracious and just, that he ever related this action as passion in the one, and defection in the other. However, the king removed Willis, and gave his charge to Colonel Bellasis; and the prince, Willis, and Hawley, retired to a neighbouring garrison, and sent for passports from the

rians, and other recent adherents of the royal party. At the Restoration he petitioned for and obtained the benefit of the Act of Indemnity, but remained for life under the contempt and infamy which his conduct had so well deserved.

enemy to transport themselves by. The Lord Digby hereupon at this time finding in how ill a posture the king's affairs were, and how ungrateful he himself was unto the soldiery, entered upon a romantic design, with a small body of horse, to march into Scotland to the assistance of the Earl of Montrose, that most brave loyal Scot, who to admiration did defeat so many of the Scots rebels, and clear so much of the country, that, like Elijah's discovery of the true church, where the prophet thought that there were scarce any true worshippers but himself, there were found 7000 knees or loyal faithful in Scotland, who had never bowed unto Baal, which I set down for the honour of that nation; and had his majesty's affairs been prosperous in England, such a sunshine would have discovered a great many more such worthy persons, who for a time lay as so many undiscernable atoms in that northern air. But the Lord Digby's design (though he did, perchance, as much as any man could have done) evaporated, for he is beaten at his entrance into Yorkshire; and before he got to Carlisle, defeated, and so forced to ship himself for Ireland instead of Scotland. Afterwards he followed his present majesty's fortune beyond sea, where, both among the French and Spanish ministers, he

Lord Digby's design of going in to Scotland to join

the Earl of Montrose.

Lord Digby defeated.

got speedily great credit; but being super-refined, held it not long.

His character.

He affected astrology, which I take to be fatal to most that do so; for it too often draws them off from duty, by supposing their destiny inevitable, and brings them in the condition of necessary animals, who were created to be voluntary agents. But his skill in this art failed him likewise, for it made him despond of his present majesty's return, at a time when he was near his restitution, and so changing his religion in compliance with Don John of Austria, he incapacitated himself for that public employment or office of secretary of state, which formerly he had held, and certainly would have had again. He held to the old distinction betwixt the church of Rome and the court of Rome, entitling himself to the first. But though he had formerly written very learnedly and solidly in maintenance of our religion to his kinsman, Sir Kenelm Digby, yet after his change he never answered his own polemics. And I heard from those, that were often with him in his last sickness, that it was not perceived that he had either priest of that creed or of ours to administer to him; yet he was observed to be very devout and frequent in prayer.

And now, after all these disturbances at Newark, the king was forced to run the risk of a journey to Oxford; in which, on the highway, the captain-lieutenant of his own troop, one Turberveil, a good stout, plain, down-right soldierly gentleman, (under whom I trooped for some time) was forced, with a party of his men, to engage the enemy, who were in pursuit of the king; and in this engagement the captain lost his life, as well as some others of his common troopers. With this difficulty and danger the king got to Oxford, but soon perceived that he could not long find security there.

The king
returns to
Oxford.

Throughout all these transactions the French wanted not their ambassadors, envoys, private spies, and agents among us. How well affected they were to the privileges of parliament, those lords and gentlemen know, whom the king would have accused, and brought unto a legal trial, for corresponding with the French ambassador.

French ne-
gociations.

How careful Prince de Harcourt was at Oxford, to persuade the king to agree with his two houses, (his master being so careful of his own states,) and to insinuate himself into their favour by putting slights upon the king and his ministers there, and yet willing to receive a present suitable to his quality, those

Prince de
Harcourt.

that knew least of the king's affairs, know this.

The king goes into the Scotch army.

How the envoy, Mr Montreville, averred it in his master's name, that if the king would put himself into the hands of the Scots, he should be there safe both in person, honour, and conscience, (I know it, as having been designed to be one, that should attend his majesty thither) is certain; and that this assurance fixed him upon this resolution more than any thing else is unquestionable. But improsperity is always in confusion; and it was safest for the king to go unattended. So as in April, 1646, the king puts himself into a disguise, and only with Mr Hudson (a minister,) as his guide, and Mr John Ashburnham, groom of his bed-chamber, as an attendant, he quits Oxford, and comes on a sudden into the Scotch army.

The king leaves Oxford, and goes to the Scotch army.

The two houses understanding his departure from Oxford, and fearing he was come up to London, they declare, that if any person should harbour or conceal him, or conceal his concealment, he should be proceeded against as a traitor to the commonwealth, and forfeit his whole estate, and die without mercy.

How he is dealt withal by them

The Scots seemed surprised at his coming among them, and use him very coarsely, but

yet with some shew of civility; and though Montreville avers as before, yet the king complained they had kept none of those terms he was promised. For though he was seemingly free, yet his person was under a guard, and for his honour this guard was not given him, because they permitted not the magistrates to do their duty to him in those places he passed through; nor did they as much as admit his own necessary servants about him; and for his conscience, they that pretended to fight for their own, denied liberty to his, he being not to be hearkened unto in any proposition for peace upon less terms than the covenant. The parliament sends to the Scots, that the king's person might be disposed of, as the two houses should direct. But Newark being surrendered by the king's command upon honourable conditions, the Scots march away with the king to Newcastle, and, to please their brethren in England, they got his majesty's directions for the surrendering the few remaining garrisons in England, as Oxford, Worcester, Wallingford, Lichfield, Ragland, &c. and the like they obtained for themselves unto Montrose; but he, good gentleman, was, ere the orders came to him, defeated by Leslie; so as the king had much ado (though he used therein the interest both

The Scots march away with the king to Newcastle.

of Hamilton and his brother Lanerick) to divert a process against him for his life, and to obtain that he might be an exile ; and this was the most he could do for any of his party, for whom he was ever much concerned.

The king's
conference
with Hen-
derson.

Whilst the king resided at Newcastle, passed that conference between him and Henderson about the order of episcopacy, and what obligation his coronation oath laid upon him. Which papers being printed, shew his great ability and knowledge, when he was destitute of all aids. But whilst the king was thus employed, the Scots knew so well how to value him, that if it be not admitted, they sold him, it must be confessed, they parted with him for a good price ; for they are paid 200,000*l.* upon their marching from Newcastle, and delivering up of that town, as likewise Berwick and Carlisle ; and are promised 200,000*l.* more to be secured upon the public faith. But if the English army had been left to themselves, and the presbyters had not then been prevalent in parliament, the independent party would soon have shortened the tailor's bill. And thus were extinguished, or thus vanished, those loud and public assertions the Scots had made, " that they would not do so base an act, as to render up their prince's person, who was come to them for

The Scots
sell the
king,

safety in so great a danger ; and that this act could not consist with their duty or allegiance, or covenant, or with the honour of their army, it being contrary to the law and common practice of all nations, in case even of private men." Which Lowdon their chancellor publicly made profession of at a conference of the two houses at Westminster. But at last silver outweighed all these considerations, and the king is delivered up into the hands of the two houses' commissioners, and brought to Holmby-house in Northamptonshire, and denied his own chaplains and servants to be about him :—a true presbyterian spirit.

and deliver him up into the hands of the commissioners of the two houses.

* Milton makes the following unfeeling commentary upon the king's expressing a deep sense of this grievance :—

" Upon denying him the attendance of his chaplain.

" A chaplain is a thing so diminutive and inconsiderable, that how he should come here among matters of so great concernment, to take such room up in the discourses of such a prince, if it be not wondered at, it is to be smiled at. Certainly by me so mean an argument shall not be written ; but I shall huddle him as he does prayers. The scripture owns no such order, no such function in the church ; and the church not owning them, they are left, for aught I know, to such a further examining as the sons of Sceva the Jew met with. Bishops or presbyters we know, and deacons we know, but what are chaplains ? In

The king
now no
other than
a prisoner.

Now the remainder of his time, which was above two years, was to be spent in imprisonments and treaties, and that barbarous way of

statc, perhaps, they may be listed among the upper serving men of some great household, and be admitted to some such place as may stile them the sewers, or the yeomen ushers of devotion, where the master is too resty, or too rich, to say his own prayers or to bless his own table. Wherefore should the parliament, then, take such implements of the court cup-board into their consideration? They knew them to have been the main corrupters at the king's elbow; they knew the king to have been always their most attentive scholar and imitator, and of a child to have sucked from them, and their closet-work, all his impotent principles of tyranny and superstition. While, therefore, they had any hope left of his reclaiming these sowers of malignant tares, they kept asunder from him, and sent to him such of the ministers, and other zealous persons, as they thought were best able to instruct him and to convert him. What could religion herself have done more to the saving of a soul? But when they found him past cure, and that he to himself was grown the most evil counsellor of all, they denied him not his chaplains, as many as were fitting, and some of them attended him, or else were at his call, to the very last. Yet here he makes more lamentations for the want of his chaplains, than superstitious Micah did to the Danites who had taken away his household priest: "Ye have taken away my gods which I have made, and the priest, and what have I more?" And perhaps the whole story of Micah might square not unfitly to this argument: "Now know I," saith he, "that the Lord will do me good, seeing I have a Levite to my

trial, they put upon him for his life, by a mock high court of justice, which may be called the fifth stage of his life; wherein we may observe, not only what befel him, but what befel the first designers against him; whether they were the innovating lords and gentry, or the presbyterian ministers, or assembly of divines, or the city of London, or the chief persons in the army of Essex; or even those particular servants of his own, who had been spies upon him, and betrayed him whilst they

priest." Micah had as great a care that his priest should be Mosaical, as the king had that his should be apostolical; yet both in an error touching their priests. Household and private orisons were not to be officiated by priests, for neither did public prayer only appertain to their office. Kings heretofore, David, Solomon, and Jehosophat, who might not touch the priesthood, yet might pray in public; yea, in the temple, while the priests themselves stood and heard. What ailed this king, then, that he could not chew his own mattins without the priest's *ore tenys*? Yet is it like he could not pray at home, who can here publish a whole prayer-book of his own, and signifies in some part of this chapter almost as good a mind to be a priest himself as Micah had to let his son be! There was doubtless, therefore, some other matter in it, which made him so desirous to have his chaplains about him, who were not only the contrivers, but also the instruments of his designs."—MILTON'S *Remarks*, apud *Miscellaneous Works*, Lond. 1753-4. I. 477.

were in his service ; and at last also the inspired seraphic independent ; and after his death, how the judgment ran into Scotland and Ireland, and fell upon the betrayers of him, and upon the innovators on the constitution of government in both those nations ; nay, at last, how it reached the army itself. And thus how every one of their infidelities brought upon them and their party a visible disappointment and judgment from God, this present time well knows, though the former could not foresee.

The king at
Holmby-
house.

The Scots being marched away from New-castle, the king is left in the hands of the English commissioners, who carry him to Holmby-house, rather as their prisoner than their prince, and when he came thither, he had neither the attendance of his own domestic servants, chaplains, or liturgy of the church ; under all which he very unconcernedly and majestically deported himself, as being above complaints or bewailings, as he himself was pleased to tell me. And though he had from those lords and gentlemen that attended him, a respect, which exceeded not his present condition, yet he passed it by ; however, he distinguished the duty of Sir John Holland, Sir John Cook, and Major-General Brown, from those who less observed

him ; though even these had entertained an office which unbecame gentlemen of free minds. And for their divines, or chaplains, the king used them civilly, and conversed with them friendlily, as private men, but would not let them say so much as grace to him, since they refused to officiate to him by the liturgy ; and this was his state there. But whilst the ecclesiastic and civil presbyterian in the assemblies and two houses were thus acting upon him, the independent ministers and the army were as busy in their designs against them. For soon after, Goodwin and Nye, and the rest of that independent gang, who not long before had dolefully, but seemingly, bewailed themselves, that they could not comply with the directory, and the new intended model of church-government, agreed to be set up by the Assembly of Divines ; and therefore were they to be sequestered, nor knew they how to decline their calling, or quit their country, do now on a sudden give a law to their late rulers. The army, who a little before had been voted to be disbanded, (and for whom Cromwell gave all the assurance under the asseveration, that he spake in the presence of God, that he knew they would obey,) do now take fire, and raise a new sort of officers, who were chosen out of

The independent party, now prevailing, shew themselves.

Agitators. every regiment, and are called *agitators* ;^{*} and they frequently meet in council, and from Bury, the then quarters, rendezvous themselves about Newmarket. And at the same time the parliament having voted the king to

^{*} The agitators were not properly officers, but a sort of delegates of the private soldiery, each regiment choosing one or more of them to have a seat in the council of war. It was obvious, that this sort of popular representation was too inconsistent with military subordination, to be suffered to exist longer than it should have answered Cromwell's purpose, which was to throw upon those obscure demagogues the odious task of exciting the army against both king and parliament. He had, however, infinite difficulty in laying the spirit which he had himself conjured up. In a pamphlet called "The Hunting of the Foxes from Newmarket and Triploe Heath to Whitehall," the disappointed agitators dwell with great indignation on the arts used to mislead them, the saint-like language, the oaths, fasts, protestations, and tears, with which the principal officers protested their resolution to make common cause with the army. "Was there ever," they exclaim, "a generation of men so apostate, so false, and so perjured as these? Did ever men pretend an higher degree of holiness, religion, and zeal to God and their country than these? These preach, these fast, these pray, these have nothing more frequent than the sentences of Holy Scripture, the name of God and of Christ in their mouth. You shall scarce speak to Cromwell about any thing but he will lay his hand on his breast, elevate his eyes, and call God to record. He will weep, howl, and repent, even while he doth smite you under the fifth rib."—SOMERS's *Tracts*, vol. VI. p. 51:

be brought up to London, they immediately send a small officer, Cornet Joyce, with a small party, to seize on his majesty's person at Holmby; (the commissioners signified nothing; the guards at Holmby were not forward to make any resistance; the king required Joyce to shew his commission, he shewed his soldiers; the king replied, "Believe me, your instructions are written in a very legible character." Nay, at Royston, Fairfax and Cromwell wait on the king both together. He asks them, whether they commissioned Joyce to remove him? they deny it; "I'll not believe you," says the king, "unless you hang him;") who executed his charge so well, that he brought away the king to Royston in the army's quarters.¹

The king
seized by
Cornet
Joyce.

¹ Wood has given the most minute account of this wonderful transaction. After mentioning, that on the approach of Joyce, with his cavalry, Colonel Greaves, who commanded the parliamentary guard on the king's person, had ordered his soldiers to prepare for repelling force by force, he proceeds:—"About midnight, came that party of horse, which in good order drew up before the house or palace at Holdenby, and at all avenues placed guards. This done, the officer that commanded the party alighted and demanded entrance; whereupon Greaves and Brown asked him his name and business; he answered, his name was Joyce, a cornet in Col. Edw. Whalley's

Eleven
members of
the House
of Com-
mons im-
peached by
the army.

To make short work, the army purges the House of Commons, and the general and his officers impeach in parliament eleven of the chief members, who began all the innovations

regiment, and his business was to speak with the king: From whom? said they: From myself, said Joyce, at which they laughed, and thereupon Joyce said, 'twas no laughing matter. They advised him to draw off the men, and in the morning he should speak with the commissioners: I came not hither, said he, to be advised by you, nor have I any business with the commissioners; my errand is with the king, and speak with him I must, and will presently, &c. They then bad the soldiers within stand to their arms, and be ready to fire when ordered; but during this short treaty between the cornet and Greaves and Browne, the soldiers on each side had conference together, and so soon as they understood that they were fellow soldiers of one and the same army, they quickly forgot what they had promised, for they opened the gates and doors, shook one another by the hand, and bad them welcome, so little regard had they to their promises, either in reference to the king's safety, or the commissioners that attended him. Entrance being made, strict search was made after Colonel Greaves, who, (though faultless, yet was it suggested, that he would have conveyed away the king to London,) got happily out of their reach. Sentinels were ordered by Joyce to be set at the commissioners' chambers doors, that he might with less noise carry on his design, and find way to the back-stairs, where the grooms to his majesty's bed-chamber attended. Cornet Joyce being come unto the door, he in rude manner knocked. Those within asked who, in such an uncivil manner, and

upon the king and laws, and were now, as the army charged them, overthrowing the laws ;

unseasonable time, came to disquiet the king's rest ? The cornet answered, My name is Joyce, an officer in the army, and sorry I am that I should disquiet the king, but I cannot help it, for speak with him I must, and that presently, &c. This strange confidence of his, and the posture he was in, having a cocked pistol in his hand, amazed the four grooms of the bed-chamber ; Jam. Maxwell, Patr. Maule, Jam. Hartington, and Thom. Herbert, (from the last of which I had this story in writing) whose duty it was and care to preserve his majesty's person, and were resolved to sacrifice their lives rather than give him admittance. They therefore, in the first place, asked Joyce if he had the commissioners' approbation ? He said, No, for I have ordered a guard to be set at their doors, and have orders from those that feared them not. They then persuaded him to lay aside his arms, and to forbear giving disturbance, the king being then asleep, assuring him that in the morning he should have his majesty's answer to his errand. The cornet refused to part with either sword or pistol, and yet insisted to have the chamber-door opened. But the grooms of the bed-chamber keeping firm to their resolution, that he should not enter, the noise was so loud, which in this contest could not be avoided, that it awakened his majesty, who thereupon rung his silver bell ; upon which Maxwell went into the bed-chamber to know the king's pleasure, the other three grooms in the meantime securing the door. The king being acquainted with the business and uncivil carriage of the cornet, he sent word he would not rise nor speak with him until morning ; which being told the cornet, he huffed, and seeing his design could not be effected in the night, he retired, so as for a

viz. Hollis, Lewis, Waller, Stapleton, Clotworthy, Maynard, Massey, Glyn, Nicholas,

few hours there was silence. Morning being come, the king arose a little sooner than ordinary, and having performed his morning devotions, he sent for Joyce, who, with no less confidence than if he had been a supreme officer, approached the king, and acquainted him with the commands he had concerning his removal. The king desired that the commissioners might be sent for, and his orders communicated to them; the cornet made answer, that they were to return back to parliament. By whose appointment? said the king; to which the cornet made no answer. The king then said, Let them have their liberty, and give me a sight of your instructions. That, said Cornet Joyce, you shall see presently; and forthwith drawing up the greatest and best part of the party into the inner court, as near as he could unto the king, said, These, sir, are my instructions. The king took a view of them, and finding them proper men, well mounted and armed, smilingly told him, his instructions were in fair characters, and legible without spelling. The cornet then pressed the king to go along with him, no prejudice being intended, but rather satisfaction; the king told him he would not stir unless the commissioners went along with him. The cornet replied, that for his part he was indifferent. As for Joyce, before mentioned, a pragmatical and busy person, who had been a godly tailor in London, and persuaded and egg'd on by a godly minister of that city to take up arms for the righteous cause, had, soon after the said audacious act was by him performed, his arrears paid, and was made at least a captain, and at length a colonel; but after Oliver had advanced himself to the protectorate, and thereupon had cashiered and imprisoned divers offi-

Ernly, and Long ; and all this for things done by them in the House of Commons ; though both Fairfax and Cromwell made it a great reason to rebel against the king, for his having formerly legally indicted in the King's Bench some of these gentlemen, who were his subjects, for seditious words spoken in parliament. Thus they think it no crime in them to impeach their masters (for so the parliament was) for things said and done by them in the house. And after this, they demand the militia of London to be put into the hands of persons better affected to the army ; and the Londoners are necessitated to plead their charters for the same from the king and his predecessors ; so as to their shame, they that had been so desperately rebellious against the crown, now take sanctuary under it. And thus both houses soon found of how little value unarmed authority is with an armed army ; and they that were late agents are become patients, and are taught, that punish-

cers, who worse than maligned him for so doing, *an.* 1654, this Col. Joyce became a malecontent at the change, and signified so much to Oliver's face, whom he upbraided with his own service and his faithfulness, but escaped any other censure than bidding him be gone, Cromwell well knowing him to be one of these madmen that would do any thing they were bid."—Wood's *Fasts*, II. 80-83.

ment is the anagram of sin, or may be read in it ; for, like Adonibezek, they that were lately cutting off thumbs and toes, are now the same way losing them.

The impeached members fly.

In the conclusion, London humbly submits, and Fairfax and Cromwell march through it, and the eleven impeached members are forced to fly ; and Stapleton carries along with him, or met on ship-board, with the plague, and dies of it at Calais, to the great terror of his colleagues. And if this be not God's finger, or his hand-writing upon the wall, it is hardly to be reckoned whose character it was.

The behaviour of the independents toward the king.

The deep and bloody-hearted independent all this while used the king very civilly, admit several of his servants, and some of his chaplains to attend him, and to officiate by the service-book.

The king removes from place to place.

They brought him first to the army to Royston, or thereabout ; then they remove him to Hatfield, the Earl of Salisbury's house ; then to Latimer, and Woborn, and Causham, the Earl of Craven's house, near Reading ; for as they removed their quarters, he was to change his. At Causham I had the honour to come into his presence, though I staid not there ; but by all I could perceive, either from himself or any other, he was very ap-

prehensive in what hands he was, but was not to let it be discerned. Nor had he given that countenance unto Dr Taylor's "Liberty of Prophesying," which some believed he had,^{*} but that really and truly it was refreshment to his spirit to be used with some civility, and to serve God as he was wont, and to see some old faces about him. It is very credible, he did believe, that the army would not be able to stem the tide both of their old masters, the presbyterians, and of his own party, who were considerable and numerous, though

* The discourse upon the Liberty of Prophesying was written in 1647, by the celebrated Jeremy Taylor, Bishop of Down and Connor, with the insidious purpose of breaking the presbyterian power, and fomenting divisions between the various sects of dissenters originally united against the established church. The work was felt by the presbyterians as an aggression, and severely animadverted upon by the Reverend Samuel Rutherford, professor of divinity in the university of St Andrews, in his Free Disputation against pretended Liberty of Conscience, 1649. In Dr Taylor's treatise, the theme of which is liberty of conscience, the reverend author was led to express himself more liberally upon controverted points of faith, than was deemed by the stricter divines altogether consistent with the church of England's doctrines. For this laxity, as well as for King Charles's giving way to his using it, the pressure of the times, and the general purpose of conciliating the army and the independants, are pleaded as apologies.

then under the hatches, or lay under sequestrations. But though the army and its party were but an inconsiderable body to all those, that through the kingdom were dissatisfied with them, yet they were the men that had got the helm into their hands, which though it be one of the least pieces of timber in the ship, yet turns the great beams or whole body, as the steersman pleases.

At last
brought to
Hampton-
court.

At last they remove the king to Hampton-court, and there they permit him to be attended by persons worthy of his presence, as James, Duke of Richmond, his near kinsman, a most excellent, loyal, prudent, and religious person; one who had attended his majesty throughout all this war, and lost therein his three brave brothers, the Lord Aubigny, Lord John, and Lord Bernard, Earl of Lichfield; one at Edgehill, the second at Alresford, and the third at Chester. And hither came that great man, the Duke of Ormond, and those two steady persons to the crown, Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Southampton. The two emissaries betwixt the king and the army were Sir John Berkley, (now Lord Berkley) and Mr John Ashburnham. The rest were Dr Sheldon, our now present archbishop, and Doctor Hammond, then his chaplains, and two or three of us

scribbling men of the pen. Here I remember both the parliament and the army address to him, and it was that which exercised all heads what to reply, or whom to please. The parliament's propositions were in effect the same they first made to him at Newcastle, the armies seemed to have more moderation towards him and his party. The one was thought more rigid, the other was feared more deceitful; for when these two before-mentioned gentlemen, (who moved betwixt the king and the army,) were desired to declare whether the army had given the king any such tie upon them, that, if they proved unfaithful, they might, by some obligation they had given, be proved perfidious, that so neither his majesty nor those about him might appear to the world too credulous, no such thing could be produced. For Cromwell, (we need not mention Fairfax, who was but nominally general,) though he made great professions towards the king and his party unto these two gentlemen, yet he kept himself still in the dark, making it his great difficulty rather how to govern his agitators, that they interrupted not his own good meaning towards the king, than that he was in any backwardness to procure reasonable terms for him. Thus being in the army's hands, and

the houses' propositions no better, and joined in by the Scotch commissioners, (for the Earl of Lauderdale and Sir Charles Erskine accompanied in the presenting them,) his majesty, and those about him, thought it most prudent rather to countenance the army than the parliament. But no sooner had he done this, but Cromwell, [good soul !] seems not able to withstand the torrent of these agitators.* Whereupon the king must be frightened, that these men would not obey the superior commanders, and were like to seize upon his majesty and murder him : and Cromwell pretended the king's hearkening to the Scots made his army no longer hearken to him ; but this was false, for the Scots were then rigorous to their covenant, which the king ab-

* During the agitations which succeeded the seizing of the king's person, Cromwell remained in London, professing his attachment to the commons, and lamenting that he incurred the suspicion of the army for his attachment to the privileges of the houses ; but, finding his professions disbelieved, he suddenly left London with some precipitation, and, placing himself at the head of the army, encouraged them in their designs and pretensions. His arrival had a dramatic effect. He came to Triplow-heath at full speed, upon a flea-bitten horse, threw himself on the ground before the soldiers, and without a moment's pause subscribed the engagement to stand by them.

horred. If at any time they tempted him, it was when he was a prisoner in Carisbrook-Castle: but before that I dare say he had not the least thoughts that they would own him.

It came not within my knowledge who gave the counsel for his flight, or what was resolved about it; but by one that did know it, I had it at that time communicated to me before he went away, and perchance with too much imprudence. I could not concur for his making a mean (since it was like to be a dangerous) flight. But, being carried off by Mr John Ashburnham, Sir John Berkley, and Mr William Legg only, the next we heard of him was, that he was in Carisbrook-Castle, in the Isle of Wight, where his terms certainly were not before-hand made, for when the two first of the above-named gentlemen had lodged the king at Titchfield, with the Earl of Southampton's mother, they acquainting that faithless man, (as he proved afterwards,) Colonel Hammond, the doctor's nephew, governor of that island, that his majesty was in that neighbourhood, and that if he might be safe with him, he would render himself up to him; which he hesitating upon, they would have retired, but he would not let them both go to advertise the king of that kind of insignificant

The king
retires pri-
vately from
Hampton-
court,

and goes to
the Isle of
Wight.

compliment he made, which was, that if he came thither, he would observe the parliament's directions about him, unless Mr Ashburnham would remain with him, and Legg only to carry the message. But Ashburnham not readily offering himself, the governor resolved to go in person to the king. Upon their return, with the governor in company, the king was much amazed that upon so ill terms he was thus discovered, but now upon no further assurance he must trust himself with him. I never had occasion but once at the Isle of Wight to speak with the king about this affair, and it was by an accident, or the king's letting himself into that discourse; and he did but touch upon it, nor durst I seem to be more inquisitive. But when I mentioned that the world had an ill opinion of my friend Mr Ashburnham's guiding him thither, I remember he freely replied, "I do no way believe he was unfaithful to me, but I think he wanted courage at that time;" which I interpreted his majesty meant his not staying with the governor, "whom I never knew wanted it before."

If it be lawful to conjecture at an affair of this nature, the choosing this place did not arise from a belief either of the king or Mr Ashburnham, in the governor, but from the

failing of some ship there expected. But it may be admitted, that they might think the officers of the army would be true to him, when his person was out of the power of being apprehended by the agitators. And too probably his majesty, wearied with the thoughts of the French having cast him into the hands of the Scots, who had used him no better, and of the unconcernedness of other princes in his case, and of the Scotch and English presbyterians' remorselessness towards him, like a sick man he was willing to change his bed, and see whether it would better his condition; and I am induced to credit this, because the king had given his word to Cromwell and his gaoler, Colonel Whalley, at Hampton-court, (and Whalley was a ridiculous fanatic, as well as a crackt-brained fellow, though he was a gentleman of a good family, of which sort of men they had very few among them,) and the king by Ashburnham, very few days before his flight, discharged himself of this engagement, which (if Whalley had not been directed otherwise,) he would soon have lain hold on him, (for he wanted not the rudeness or the ill nature,) and have put it out of his power to have escaped.¹ But if it were so, surely it was a

¹ This Whalley, who was a cousin-german of Cromwell, published an account of the king's leaving Hampton-court,

fatal credulity, that since, during the whole time he was in their hands, the king's ministers could never draw from Cromwell and his officers (who pretended kindness to him,) any such promise of security under their

and there is a passage from which it would seem that the king was determined to that step by a letter from Cromwell, insinuating, that his person was in danger. If this was the case, it cannot be doubted that the whole scheme of securing him at the Isle of Wight, was concerted by Cromwell for the purpose of driving Charles deeper into his toils. And it will in that case be very difficult to vindicate Ashburnham's fidelity:—

“ And whereas (Mr Speaker) you demand of me what that letter was that I shewed the king the day he went away. The letter I shall shew you, but with your leave I shall first acquaint you with the author, and the ground of my shewing it to the king. The author is Lieut.-Gen. Cromwell; the ground of my shewing it was this, the letter intimates some murderous design, or at least some fear of it, against his majesty. When I read the letter I was much astonished, abhorring that such a thing should be done, or so much as thought of, by any that bear the name of Christians. When I had shewn the letter to his majesty, I told him I was sent to safe-guard and not to murder him: I wished him to be confident no such thing should be done; I would die first at his foot in his defence; and therefore I shewed it him, that he might be assured, though menacing speeches came frequently to his ear, our general officers abhorred so bloody and villainous a fact.”—CROMWELLIANA, *Lond.* 1810. fol. p. 36.

hands, or before witnesses, which, if violated, could amount to an accusation against them ; afterwards, when he was out of their hands, he should freely put himself into their power again, which, as it hath heretofore been my amazement, now requires my silence.

For a time we will leave him thus immured, and observe how all parties in the future deport themselves towards him ; and only relate, that whilst he was here, Sedgwick, a great presbyterian minister, came and would needs expound to him part of the Revelations, and held him so late in the night, that the king, civilly thanking him for his good will and pains, prayed him to conclude and go to bed, for he must needs want sleep after such a journey.

The deportment of the several parties toward the king.

The bloody independants draw the curtain, and shew how tragical their design had been from the beginning. There are no words in the army, but that the king had been a man of blood, and therefore must be prosecuted to blood. Cromwell and his officers seem much awed by Harrison and his zealots, and part of the army is in an uproar ; but a mutinying trooper or two being laid hold on, and let blood, and some lesser officers cashiered, this soon quieted that distemper.

The four
bills sent
to the king
whilst in
hold.

The king desires that he might be admitted to come up, and personally treat with his two houses at London : the Scots countenance and assist that desire. But the resolution of the two houses and army is to send the king four bills, which he should first grant as preliminaries unto a treaty. The effect of them was, though not in plain terms, to divest himself and his heirs of the militia by sea and land, and to lodge this power in the two houses, with power to raise what monies they pleased to support it, and that the two houses might have power to adjourn themselves as they pleased ; the consequence whereof is too well known to be descanted upon. The other two bills were of no difficulty to have been granted, *viz.* The recalling all his majesty's former declarations, &c., and incapacitating those peers made since his majesty's quitting the parliament, from sitting therein. The Scotch commissioners here highly oppose all this, and tamper with the king to do so likewise ; and the Lord Lauderdale sends him a letter, intimating, that whilst he studied to satisfy all, he satisfied none. And thus this poor prince is tossed from post to pillar, distracted by all, but really dealt with by none.

The Scotch
commis-

At last the Scotch commissioners getting

admittance to him in the Isle of Wight, with the English, it is supposed they gave him the assurance, that, in his behalf they would enter the kingdom of England with a good army, and this made him so unwilling to disown them, as hath been before taken notice of, even when their army under Duke Hamilton was defeated.

oners with
the king at
the Isle of
Wight.

In truth, there was no way to restore the true peace of this kingdom, but by returning to the same state which they had before overthrown. But this was *durus sermo*, pride (besides many other considerations) making them too haughty to acknowledge guilt, and guilt making them too cautious to run into danger; and neither English nor Scotch presbyters had so much confidence in each other, as to lay some probable design of opposing the army, (now the common enemy,) nor had they a mind to incorporate with the king's party, nor policy or courage enough so to join with one another, as probably fortunately to oppose the army's conspiracy against both; (for the presbyterians were subtle and resolute rebels against none but the king;) all which distractions made more for the security of the army, than did their own power. And, therefore, by their prevalence, votes of no further addresses to the king are extorted from the

Votes of no
further ad-
dresses to
the king.

Petitions
to the
houses for
accommod-
ating with
the king.

Several at-
tempts to
deliver the
king.

two houses, with a declaration that they will receive no more messages from him. And the army declares that they will join with the two houses in settling the kingdom without the king, and against him or any other that shall hereafter partake with him.

The undaunted indefatigable king's party, and many new ones, who had never hitherto shewn themselves of that party, or had any share in the former calamities or dangers, perceiving nobody would join with them, use their heads how they might employ their hands in delivering their imprisoned prince. And therefore several counties, by petitions unto the two houses, accompanied by many, and subscribed by multitudes, own the king even in this calamity; for his cause made them commiserate his person, and his person made them willing to adventure themselves for his cause.

The apprentices in London have a rash transport of zeal, and meet in great numbers, and their word is, "For God and King Charles;" but, being unarmed and undisciplined, are soon dispersed. Colonel Powel and Langborn, who had served the parliament, defect from them and raise a cloud, which Cromwell had great apprehension of, for they were in Wales numerous, and Colo-

nel Powel and Sir John Owen were both up at the same time ; but Cromwell himself in one part, and some strong parties sent into other parts, rout all these. The county of Essex petition that the army may be paid off and disbanded, and the king treated with. Surrey follows their example ; but being interrupted, and pressing to deliver their petition even in Westminster-Hall, and upon the stairs that go up to the House of Commons, at least ten of the Surrey men were wounded by the soldiers, so as this usage shewed what right the House of Commons thought the subject had to petition them in numbers ; and an inclination there was in most of the counties of England to have done the like, but the usage of Surrey terrifies them.

About this time it is well known that Duke Hamilton was raising a very considerable army in Scotland, whereupon the commissioners of Derby-house, who were a body of the choice and select members of both houses, viz. the never-failing Earls of Northumberland, Kent, Warwick, Manchester, the Lords Say, Wharton, Roberts, Sir Henry Vane senior and junior, Sir William Ermin, Sir Arthur Haslerig, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Sir John Evelyn, Cromwell, Nathaniel Fiennes, William Pierpoint, Oliver Saint-John, Mr Crew,

The Scots
raise an ar-
my to enter
England.

Brown, and Wallop, a mixed body of presbyterians and independants, all these sit as the council of state, and they had cajoled the city of London, and put it under Skippon's command to secure it.

The Kentish insurrection.

Fairfax and Cromwell were then intending to march northward with their army, and being advanced a day or two's march, and no more, most unseasonably, and consequently most unluckily, the Kentish men rise in so numerous and armed a body, that the army was forced to march back. Upon whose approach, and by ill conduct, it was not long before they were dispersed; and Sir Charles Lucas, with the Lord Capel, and the Lord Louborough, and Sir George Lisle, were in the like posture in Essex, but not numerous, yet good soldiers, being about three thousand strong, with those few forces the Lord Norwich brought over with him, as the *debris* of the Kentish army whereof he had the conduct, and whereof he gave but an ill account, in which action his loyalty was untainted, but its ill success could not keep it from being vulgarly questioned. These Fairfax knew to be good soldiers, and therefore was very apprehensive of them. The Essex men, though overpowered, and being but a handful to the army, yet made a sharp dispute nigh Colchester, in the open field or

Colchester siege.

upon passages, and were beaten into Colchester, which they defended for some good time, and the weather being very rainy, it rotted divers of Fairfax's men, and had cost him more had not the provision and shelter the country brought in to him, made him so well struggle with that difficulty ; and though the town at last was yielded upon condition of safety unto the prisoners' lives, yet barbarously they condemned Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, with a foreign brave gentleman, Sir Bernard Gascoin, to be shot to death. The first two suffered, the last was pardoned. At this time likewise a good part of the navy-royal, under Captain Batten, formerly vice-admiral unto the Earl of Warwick, revolted to the Prince of Wales, now his present majesty, who, with the Duke of York, (who not long before escaped out of England,) and Prince Rupert, and divers other lords, come on board him, and Sandwich, Deal, and other castles were yielded up, and the prince anchors in the Downs ; and here he seizes on such merchant-ships as came in, and writes to the House of Lords to admit a treaty with his father : but standing in need of provision, when Warwick with another squadron of ships came out, he was forced to stand over unto the coasts of Holland.

The navy
returns to
its duty.

The Earl
of Hol-
land's ri-
sing.

The Earl of Holland at this time, with the young Duke of Buckingham, and his brave brother, Lord Francis Villiers, who shewed a true zeal and undaunted courage, and lost his life when Holland and his party would abide no brush from Kingston here, in Surrey disorderly making a flying retreat, as far as St Neod's, in Huntingdonshire, were there meanly taken and totally dispersed ; for which afterwards Holland lost his head.

The Scots
enter Eng-
land.

All this being so unseasonably acted in the south, which, if it had been deferred until Duke Hamilton had marched into the kingdom with the Scotch army, and Cromwell engaged against him, it had certainly made a more considerable body for the king than ever he had. This defeat, as it made way for Hamilton's destruction, so it may justly be said he pulled it upon himself ; for having incommunicable and clandestine designs, he concerted nothing with any of the English, who thereby judging his design only presbyterian, and so likely to grate as much upon his majesty's honour and conscience, as all their former proceedings had done, and fearing that the bottom of the design would be but some advantage to the Scots upon this nation, they thus precipitately throw themselves into the misadventures before recited. And now Crom-

well marches against Hamilton singly ; to whom by this time, Sir Thomas Glenham, Sir Philip Musgrave, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale being joined, they had means to seize on Berwick and Carlisle, and they join themselves with Hamilton. Hamilton's army was given out to be 20,000 foot and 6000 horse ; but when they came to their misfortunes they said, that the kirk party had given them so many interruptions, that they march in but 10,000 foot and 4000 horse : whatever they were, they gave a very slender account either of their bravery of courage, or solidity of conduct. Hamilton was the general, and the Earl of Calender, (a man I knew in Holland, of great repute for a very good soldier, being one of the four Scotch colonels there,) was lieutenant-general, and Baily was major-general of the foot, and Middleton commanded the horse. The best body of men they had they made no use of, (so powerful is faction ;) for Colonel Monro, who came over to their assistance from Ireland, whose men were veteran and experienced soldiers, being unwilling to be commanded by Calender, was left behind about Appleby and those parts.

Upon a long debate, after Hamilton's army had marched through Cumberland and West-

The Scots
march
through
Lancashire.

moreland, at Kendal, (as unfortunate persons do) they took the worst counsel, and resolved their way by Lancashire, and not Yorkshire; though one country was known loyal and unanimous for the king's service, but was poor, (as having been well plundered formerly by the Scots themselves,) and the other was a wealthy and a numerous body, and very presbyterial; with whom, if the Scots had had any private intelligence, the choice of the way of their march had been well advised, because the country was plentiful, as well as cragged in some places, and moorish in others; and so, had they befriended them, Cromwell and Lambert's opposition would have been much more difficult. But the army coming out of Scotland without the kirk's blessing, or at least pretending to do so, and all their civil affairs being there spirited by the pulpits, there was not found that correspondence between the English and Scotch presbyters in this march in behalf of the king, which there was in their first march when they came in against him. Lambert, therefore, who first gave interruption to this army's march, had an easy task, especially having Cromwell coming up after him; so as he for some time rather harasses this army than fought it; and let them advance, that they

might have the longer way to retreat home ; and they made so many several and inconvenient halts, that the army mouldered from day to day, and often separated their horse from their foot, to their great disadvantage ; and they were ashamed to go backwards, for such a dishonourable retreat would have brought them into contempt in their own country ; and if they did so, they were sure to be followed by Lambert and Cromwell.

Why, when all hope was lost, they retreated not home.

All the brisk fighting that was, was about Wigan, or rather near Preston ; where Langdale with his English party, with great courage and no ill conduct, engaged with a party of Lambert's men ; but not timely relieved by the Scots, and overpowered and receiving some loss, was forced to a disorderly retreat into the whole body. At Warrington-bridge their horse forsook their foot, and their Major-general, Baily, was forced to capitulate for 4000 men, to lay down arms, and submit to mercy. And now, as a new-fashioned flight, Hamilton with his horse advances into his enemy's country instead of retreating into his own, and receives a considerable loss about Nantwich in Cheshire ; and so goes on stumbling, till he came to Utoxeter in Staffordshire, where he was taken prisoner himself so tamely, that it was not known whether

The English and Scotch armies encountered.

Hamilton taken prisoner.

it was by the country troops, or by the Lord Gray of Groby, or by some of Lambert's colonels, sent to capitulate with him; unto which last, upon his trial, he entitled himself a prisoner, as most for the security of his life, which with all his shifting he could not save; though he remained prisoner so long, that at Windsor his master and he are both prisoners together, and whom he saw carried away to be murdered, and not long after himself to be executed; "and what fruit think ye had he then of those things, whereof he was now necessarily to be ashamed?"

Affairs in
Scotland.

While this was doing in England, Argyle was overthrowing Lanerick, and had besieged Stirling castle in Scotland; but Monro comes to the relief of it. And to shew there was some truth in the opposition of these Scotch parties one against another, here a good party of Argyle's men are slain. But Monro making conditions for the arrears of his own and of his men's pay, and for the accommodations that were to be given him for the transport of his men into Ireland, whilst they were in small companies marching to the sea-side, the news came that Carrickfergus, Belfast, and Colrain, (his chief holds in Ireland) were betrayed by their own officers into the hands of General Monk, who then commanded the

English army in Ireland. And thus Providence blasted all the Scotch subtilties and interests, both in their own country, and in England and Ireland; and Cromwell comes in amongst them, (for from Wigan he marched forwards into Scotland, and left Lambert to worry Hamilton in England,) and here he meets with godly professions, and hath Berwick and Carlisle delivered up to him, and is looked upon as a *liberator* of the kirk.

Now when the king had no earthly hope, the parliament seems to vouchsafe to admit him to a treaty; and they send him commissioners, viz. the Earls of Northumberland, Salisbury, Pembroke, and Lord Say, Mr Pierpoint, Hollis, Vane the younger, Crew, Potts, Brown, and Buckley. The king was admitted to have the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Hartford, the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Lindsey, the Bishop of London, Dr Juxon, the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr Duppa, Dr Sanderson, (afterwards in this king's time Bishop of Lincoln,) Dr Henchman, late Bishop of London, Dr Morley, after his majesty's return Bishop of Worcester, and since Bishop of Winchester, and some other divines; Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Thomas Gardner, Sir Geoffrey Palmer, Sir Thomas Rieves and Dr Duck, civilians; Sir Edward

The treaty
at the Isle
of Wight.

Walker, Mr Whitaker, Mr Oudart, and myself. But the king's lords and gentlemen only stood about his chair, but were not to speak a word in his assistance, whilst he singly disputed with all the before-mentioned able men upon the several heads of their propositions. But if at any time the king found himself in need to ask a question, or that any of his lords thought fit to advise him in his ear to hesitate before he answered, he himself would retire into his own chamber; or one of us penmen, who stood at his chair, prayed him from the lords to do so, but more liberty than this his attendants were not allowed. And I remember on one day he overdid himself, and it was upon the great article, Whether he or the parliament began the war, and in effect at whose door the blood should lie? The king would have extinguished the whole discourse by acts of oblivion to both sides, or by taking an equal share, viz. by expressing that jealousies had abruptly and unfortunately cast them both into this engagement, and by acts of indemnity would have secured all. But where most guilt was there was most difficulty to satisfy, and by no means they would wave the explanation of this article. The king retiring into his chamber, I took the confidence to step to my Lord North-

umberland, and say to him, " My good lord, remember how gracious this good prince hath been to you, and do you compassionate his distresses, and the strait he is now in ;" and he civilly, but positively replied, " Sir, in this it is impossible for me to do any thing, for the king in this point is safe as king, but we cannot be so." Two replies which the king made to two gentlemen that day, were observable ; the one to a gentleman, who is now a lord, who pressed somewhat upon him hardly : " A good nature, sir, (says he,) would not offer this you say, nor is it true logic : " and then made another kind of ingenious reply unto Mr. Buckley, (who was a gentleman of that island, and now a commissioner, when he prayed the king to make right use of this treaty, having promised him, that if a treaty could be procured for him, the malice of the devil should not be able to break it ;) " Consider, (says he,) Mr Buckley, if you call this a treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out and says, there has been a fray and no fray ; and being asked how that could be, why (says he,) there hath been three blows given, and I had them all. Look therefore, whether this be not a parallel case. Observe whether I have not granted absolutely most of your propositions,

and with great moderation limited only some few of them ; nay, consider whether you have made me any one concession, and whether at this present moment you have not confessed to me, that, though upon any proposition you were all concurrently satisfied, yet till you had remitted them up to your superiors, you had not authority to concur with me in any one thing."

These were but the slightest passages of his majesty's reasonings ; for through the whole treaty, managing all thus singly himself, he shewed that he was very conversant in divinity, law, and good reason ; insomuch, as one day whilst I turned the king's chair when he was about to rise, the Earl of Salisbury came suddenly upon me, and called me by my name, and said, " The king is wonderfully improved ;" to which I as suddenly replied, " No, my lord, he was always so, but your lordship too late discerned it." The remembrance of these things is truly doleful to me, and therefore I will quit them the sooner ; nor have I set down the particular heads of the articles, because both this and all former treaties were but branches of the first nineteen propositions, which desired the king to lay down the sceptre and the sword, the purse and the militia, and to change the whole frame of the eccle-

siastical government, and the disposition of all great offices, and other regalias and prerogatives, and lodge them in them; or content himself with the name of king, and to entrust them with the office, which how tenderly they used in behalf of the subject, after they had murdered him, the following story will have occasion to relate:—Every night when the king was alone, about eight of the clock, except when he was writing his own private letters, he commanded me to come to him, and he looked over the notes of that day's treaty, and the reasons upon which it moved, and so dictated the heads of a dispatch, which from time to time he made concerning this treaty unto his present majesty, then prince; and this Mr Oudart, whose hand his majesty used in those dispatches, transcribed; and I had my own papers when the king came over, but lent them unto some hand that never restored them to me, which hath lamed me much about this treaty:

Some few things I remember he said, which shewed those eminent Christian virtues in him which were rarely to be found among any sort of men, scarce ever among princes. For about the latter end of the treaty, finding it was like to be ineffectual, "I wish (says he) I had consulted nobody but my own self; for then,

The king's own several expressions.

where in honour or conscience I could not have complied, I could have early been positive ; for, with Job, I would willinglier have chosen misery than sin." I never saw him shed tears but once, and he turned presently his head away, for he was then dictating to me somewhat in a window, and he was loth to be discerned, and the lords and gentlemen were then in the room, though his back was towards them ; but I can safely take my oath they were the biggest drops that ever I saw fall from an eye, but he recollected himself, and soon stifled them. When he was pressed by the parliament ministers to give way for a small catechism for children, " I will not (says he) take upon me to determine all these texts you quote are rightly applied, and have their true sense given them ; and I assure you, gentlemen, I would license a catechism at a venture, sooner for men than I would for children, because they can judge for themselves ; and I make a great conscience to permit that children should be corrupted in their first principles." And this was spoken unto Stephen Marshall, of whom I knew by a gentleman that was in the society of the parliament commissioners, that he was a bloody man in those extemporary prayers, which in his course he then made unto those commis-

sioners, (and his sermons shew how far he was from a true Christian spirit,) for that gentleman told me that there was a great difference of spirit betwixt those prayers which Vines and those that Marshall made. I remember one evening (when I waited on the king with the notes that passed that day, and then sometimes he would ease himself by some discourse on the by,) his majesty told me, "That he should be like a captain that had defended a place well, and his superiors not being able to relieve him, he had leave to surrender it; but (he replied) though they cannot relieve me in the time I demand it, let them relieve me when they can else, I will hold it out till I make some stone in this building my tombstone. And so will I do (says he) by the church of England." Another time, talking of the unreasonableness of the two houses' propositions about the civil government,—

"Well, (says he) they will ask so much, and use it so ill, that the people of England will be one day glad to relodge the power they had taken from the crown where it is due; and I have offended against them more in the things I have granted them, than in any thing I ever designed against them." Whilst he was in this durance, Mr Herbert said he was wont

*Hoc sacrum
monitum de-
fondit, his
cecidit.*

to write, on the backside of some papers, these or some other verses of this nature :

*" Pallitur egregio quisquis sub principe credit
Seroitium : nunquam libertas gratior extat,
Quam sub rege pio.———"*

*" Rebus in advertis facile est contemnere vitam :
Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest."*

These were the most material things my memory will serve me to recollect, (and, God knows, I never intended to write an history or observations upon it,) of what he said during our short attendance on him in this island.

Other matters relating to the king, mentioned by him.

Things of a lesser nature were these ; that, observing him to drink two parts water and one sack, I presumed to ask how he came to leave French wine, he told me, " They afforded him not good, and then he thought this the better brewage. Nay, (says he) whilst I have been here among them I have wanted linen, which, though I took notice of, I never complained of." Another time, he looking out of his presence-chamber window at Newport, I being in the room, he beckoned me, and shewed me in the street an old little

crumpling man, and asked whether I knew him; "No, sir, (said I,) I never saw him before:" "I shew him you, (says he) because that was the best companion I had for three months together in Carisbrook-castle, where he made my fires." Methinks, because it shews his disesteem of a common court vice, it is not unworthy the relating of him, that one evening his dog scraping at his door, he commanded me to let in Gipse, whereupon I took the boldness to say, Sir, I perceive you love a greyhound better than you do a spaniel; "Yes, (says he,) for they equally love their masters, and yet do not flatter them so much." These here set down, and some other passages which I came to understand by the Bishop of London, Dr Juxon, his confessor at his death, (which I shall mention when I come to that part of his end,) make me conclude with my Lord Bacon, that he was a prince of those eminent virtues which usually gain not king's renown: "For (says he) there are few that can judge of or discern the highest sort of virtues, and therefore princes are commonly famous by the middle sort of virtues, the highest being unintelligible unto the multitude." I shall conclude his story in the Isle of Wight, with a reply to an advertisement I gave him about the time the treaty was end-

ing. I prayed his leave that I might utter my thoughts concerning his present condition in relation to his station in that place ; and I told him, " I understood the governor usually prided himself in saying, that the person of the king was put into his hands by the parliament, and that he would obey no directions concerning the same, but from the parliament: Now, sir, (said I) he is like to desire your leave to go up to them ; but if you do, you know how Major Rolph and other ill spirits of the army hang about this place, and what danger it may bring you ; your majesty therefore were best consider." The king replied, " I thank you for your care, but the governor is grown such a rogue, we cannot be in worse hands." So I pressed it no more, for (though not from himself) yet I had privately understood he had at that time an hope to have escaped away by sea, but contrary winds and contrary fortune, or rather Providence, made way for all that which tragically followed.'

The king
designs to
escape by
sea.

' A plan was in fact formed for Charles's escape, but it included a stratagem for his murder. A young man named Osborn had obtained the situation of gentleman-usher, and, won over by the affability of the king, resolved to make an offer of his services. This he did by slipping a billet in-

My Lord Marquis Hartford, the Lord Southampton, and the Bishop of Salisbury, Dr Duppa, had desired for a fortnight or three weeks some leave from his majesty, to look after their own business, till the treaty should be re-assumed, and I asked the like, (which I repented of heartily since,) and I had the honour to go away with them in their own coach,

to the king's gloves, which he usually held while he was at meat. The king resolving to trust him, carried on a correspondence with him in the same way. Rolph, a soldier of low extraction, whom Cromwell had placed near the king, one day communicated his intention to murder him to Osborn, and had observed that the safest way to carry his attempt into execution was, by warning the king that a plot was laid against his life, to induce him to escape. The king, who was informed by Osborn of the plot, consented, and named Doucet, a soldier attached to him, as his assistant. The king had sawed through the iron bars of his window, but unfortunately Rolph became suspicious of Osborn, by learning more particulars than he had told him of from another soldier; he accordingly collected some soldiers, and stood ready at the place of rendezvous. The king, on coming to the window to make his escape, saw the unusual number of people, and quietly retired to bed. Rolph now acquainted Colonel Hammond with the intended escape, who immediately apprehended Doucet. Osborn, escaped and endeavoured to bring Rolph to trial for his intention to murder the king, but by the influence of Serjeant Wild, judge of the circuit at Westminster, the grand jury found an *ignoramus* upon the bill, as stated in the text.

and we lay that night at Lettēy-Abbey, which was near Southampton, an house of my Lord Hartford's ; and about three of the clock in the morning, the wind sitting that way, those of the family or neighbourhood heard drums, and guns, and noises from the Isle of Wight ; and too soon after the sad news came, that Rolph that morning had seized on the king's person, and I never saw him more. But as Tully said, " When I think of dying, it is one of my comforts, that when I part from the dunghill of this world I shall meet Lelius," or King Charles, and all those faithful spirits that had virtue enough to be true to him, the church, and the laws, unto the last.

Rolph
seizes up-
on the
king.

The vil-
laneous de-
sign of
Rolph up-
on the
king's life

This Rolph had before tampered with the clerk of the king's kitchen, one Doucet, to poison the king ; and one Osborn averred that he knew that Rolph intended to pistol him, for which being accused he was indicted ; but upon his trial, Sergeant Maynard going that circuit, declared in the court unto the grand jurymen, that this accusation amounting unto treason, ought to have had two witnesses to each fact, but there was but one to each fact, and so the jury found an *ignoramus*. Thus useful a great lawyer is sometimes to a man of great guilt, and thus fortuitously about the king's death Maynard was engaged, and more designedly in my Lord Strafford's and

Lord Capel's; but whether the same be his comfort or no, he best knows.

This flagitious act upon the king, in thus seizing his person, by directions from the army, (for Fairfax had been wrought upon to give a warrant, whereby Colonel Hammond was commanded to give up the king's person unto Colonel Ewer; and Hammond pretended to go up to the two houses about this command, that he might be absent when the king was seized on,) we may say was as disloyal to their own masters, the two houses, (for they by a vote disowned it,) as it was to the king. For at the same time the two houses were voting, first, that the late concessions of his majesty at the Isle of Wight were a good ground for a peace. Secondly, that his person should be in honour, freedom, and safety, and that his revenue should be free, bearing the usual public charges; and that acts of oblivion should be prepared with such exceptions as should seem fit to the two houses. But they arrived not at this good nature, either to the king or kingdom, until they discerned their own impotency, nay, mortality; for they perceived themselves as likely to be dethroned as was their prince.

The king seized on also by Ewer.

Votes of the two houses, in order to the settlement of the nation too late and ineffectual.

The army were now modelling a government without a king, and without distinction

The army resolves to take away

the king's
life.

of lords ; and therefore, to prevent the conjunction of king and parliament together, they resolve that the king should be immediately disowned, and his head cut off, and no more kings acknowledged ; that out of every county a choice person (that is, one of their party) should be selected to frame a new model of government, whereby the people of England should be acknowledged the sovereign power of this land, and other stuff of this nature. If this was not to subvert the government and the old constitution of it, (and so high treason,) I know not what can be.

The king
carried to
Hurst-cas-
tle.

Rolph removes, in a rude and contemptuous way, the king's person out of the Isle of Wight unto Hurst-castle, right over against the same, a place which stood in the sea, (for every tide the water surrounded it,) and it contained only a few dog-lodgings for soldiers, being chiefly designed for a platform to command the ships.¹ Here they keep him

¹ " The wind and tide favoured him and his company, and in less than three hours they crost that narrow sea, and landed at Hurst-castle, (or Block-house rather,) erected by order of K. Henry VIII., upon a spot of earth thrust by nature a good way into the sea, and joined to the land by a narrow neck of sand, which is constantly covered over with loose stones and pebbles. Upon both sides

for some time, and now here at Westminster
Colonel Pride and Rich's regiment, dischar-

The House
of Com-
mons gar-

of this passage the sea beats, so that at spring tides and in stormy weather it is formidable and hazardous. The castle has very thick stone walls, and the platforms are regular, and both have culverins and sakers mounted. A dismal receptacle it was for so great a monarch as this king was; the greater part of whose life and reign had been prosperous and full of earthly glory, nevertheless, it was some satisfaction to his majesty that his two houses of parliament abhorred this force upon his person, having voted that the seizing of the king's person, and carrying him prisoner to Hurst-castle, was without the privy and consent of either house of parliament, &c. The captain of this wretched place was not unsuitable to it. On the king's going on shore on the evening of the said 30th of November, he stood ready to receive him with small observance. His look was stern, his hair and large beard were black and bushy. He held a partizan in his hand, and, Switz-like, had a great basket-hilt sword by his side. Hardly could one see a man of a more grim aspect, and no less robust and rude was his behaviour. Some of his majesty's servants were not a little fearful of him, and really thought that he was designed for mischief, especially when he vapoured as being elevated with his command, and puffed up by having so royal a prisoner; so that probably he conceived he was nothing inferior to the governor of the castle at Millan. But, being complained of to Lieut.-Col. Cobbett, his superior officer, he quickly appeared a bubble; for, being pretty sharply admonished, he quickly became mild and calm; whereby 'twas visible that his humour (or tumour rather) was adulatory, acted to curry fa-

bled of several members,

ging those trained-bands, which were a guard to the parliament, supply their places, and

vour; wherein also he was much mistaken: for to give the L. Colonel his due, he was, after his majesty came under his custody, very civil to him, both in language and behaviour, and courteous to those who attended him, on all occasions; also that his disposition was not rugged towards such as in loyalty and love came to see and to pray for him, as sundry persons out of Hampshire and the neighbouring counties did. His majesty (as it may be well granted) was very slenderly accommodated at this place, for the room he usually eat in was neither large nor light, some, insomuch that at noon-day in that winter season, candles were set up to give light; and at night he had his wax lamp set (as formerly) in a silver bason, which illuminated the bed-chamber, and Thomas Herbert, then attending, being the sole person at that time left as groom thereof, (for Harrington was soon after dismissed, as I have elsewhere told you,) he could not otherwise but call to mind a relation well worth the observance, which is this, as by letters, with several other stories relating to the king's last two years of his life, he very kindly imparted to me. When Mountague, Earl of Lindsey, one of the gentlemen of his majesty's bed-chamber, did lye one night on a pallet by the king's bed-side, a little before he left Oxon in a disguise, to render his person up to the protection of the Scots, then laying siege to Newark-upon-Trent, was placed at the end of his majesty's bed (as was usually every night,) a lamp, or round cake of wax, in a bason set on a stool. The earl awaked in the night, and observed the room to be perfectly dark, and thereupon raising himself up he looked towards the lamp, and concluded that it

guard them to purpose ; for they immediately garble their masters, and seize on at least for,

must be extinguished by water got into the bason by some creek ; but he, not hearing the king stir, forbore rising, or to call upon those in the next chamber to bring in another light. About half an hour after he fell asleep again, and awaked not till morning, but when he did awake he found the lamp bright burning, which so astonished him, that, taking the boldness to call to the king, (whom he heard by his stirring to be awake,) he told him what he had observed ; whereupon the king replied, that he himself also awaking in the night, took notice that all was dark, and to be fully satisfied he put by the curtain to look on the lamp, but concluded the earl had risen and set it upon the bason again. The earl assured his majesty that he did not. The king then said, he did consider it was a prognostic of God's favour and mercy towards him and his, that, though he was at that time eclipsed, yet either he or they may shine out bright again, &c. But to return ; in this sad condition was the king at Hurst, the place and military persons duly considered : he was sequestered in a manner from the comfort that earth and air affordeth, and the society of men. The earth confined him to the promontory or gravel walk, overspread with loose stones a good depth ; on which when he walked, as usually he did, it was very uneasy and offensive to his feet ; but endure it he did, and with his most admirable patience and serenity of spirit, and more alacrity than they that followed him. The air was equally obnoxious by reason of the marish grounds that were thereabouts, and the unwholesome vapours of the sargosses and weeds which the salt water constantly at tides and storms cast upon the shoar, and by the fogs that

ty members, many of them coming unto the house, others dragged out, and carry them to

those marine places are most subject to, so that the dwellers thereabouts find by experience that the air is insalubrious and disposing to diseases, especially aguish distempers. Notwithstanding all these things the king was content, in this most disconsolate and relegated place, to walk two miles at least in length, containing but a few paces in breadth, either in the company of the governour of the said castle, or in that of Capt. Reynolds, an officer therein; beside Harrington (while he was there) and Herbert, who, according to their duties, did always attend him. That which made some amendment was a fair and uninterrupted prospect a good way into the sea, a view into the Isle of Wight one way, and main land the other, with the sight of ships of all sizes, daily under sail, with which his majesty was much delighted. In this castle his majesty continued from the evening of the 30th of Nov. till the 21st of Dec. following, *an.* 1648."—Wood's *Fasti Oxonienses*, II. 83.

This long transcript has been made, that the reader may have an opportunity to compare the imprisonment of Charles I. with the rigorous treatment used towards one of his judges, Col. Hutchinson of Owthorpe, after the Restoration. The state of Hurst-castle at this time was probably not much different from that of Sandown, near Deal, to which Col. Hutchinson was committed, a ruined place, exposed to the injuries of the sea air and the bad weather, and tenanted by a dissolute set of soldiers. But as such severities were in the one instance exercised upon the King of England, and in the other on one of his regicidal judges, it is surprising, that in the late interesting publica-

several nigh inns, and keep them under guard; and then they accuse Major-General Brown and ninety others, whom they desired might be secluded from the house, for having the last summer invited in the Scots. And this made a great breach in that whole number, and either awed or animated the rest.

Now it was time (for they drove like Jehu) to bring the king nearer to the place of his mock-trial; and from Hurst they remove him to Farnham-castle, and from thence to Windsor. The two houses thus purged, and the king then in their power, it is found a fit season for the army to present its new model of government to them, which was done by Sir Hardress Waller and some other officers, and an address is likewise made that the king might be brought to trial. The lords disown this way of proceeding, and deny that the king could commit treason against the commonwealth; and because they would not comply with the commons therein, they adjourn their house for a fortnight, first declaring that no

Their proceedings in order to the king's trial.

New model of government.

tion of the Colonel's Memoirs, the editor could derive no comfort from the circumstance, that his hero at worst was not more harshly treated than he and his party had used their sovereign.

act of the commons is binding without their consent, (and, God knows, both together never bound the subject generally without the king's consent,) but all now is to be turned topsy-turvy. The commons as it were meeting with what they wished, *viz.* the lords' adjournment, they presently wreak themselves both upon the king and lords; for instead of an ordinance of parliament, as they would have called it, they make a vote of their own, digested into a form which served to bring the king to trial; for they would not stay for the conjunction of the lords with them, and so they defeat the lords' artifice, and make them by their adjournment to defeat themselves. Thus they proceed singly and alone, and not long after vote the lords' house as useless: and some of the nobility, two of them, *viz.* Salisbury and Pembroke, old and obliged courtiers, whose families owed both their honour and estates to the crown, so degenerate, that they go down and sit as commoners with the lower house. But this act of these lords was some time after the king's murder.

The king's trial.

By this traitorous and tumultuous body the king is brought to his trial, and removed from Windsor to St James's and from thence soon brought to Westminster-Hall, where he finds a pretended high court of justice, consisting

of a president, one Bradshaw, (heretofore a very meanly qualified lawyer, but a bold and seditious person,) and of Cromwell and most of his chief officers, and some of the king's own faithless servants, as Sir Henry Mildmay, the Lord Mounson, Sir John Danvers, and Cornelius Holland, (one that had been clerk of his kitchen, and was then of the green cloth,) the rest high-flown parliament men. These, to make their proceedings the more solemn, made their sergeant at arms in Westminster-Hall, the old Exchange, &c., to summon in any person that would come and accuse the king; and then they break his great seal, and make one of their own, impressing upon it the Cross for England, and the Harp for Ireland, on the one side, and the House of Commons, as the true sovereign of this nation, on the other; and these words about it, "The first year of freedom, &c. 1648." Before this sort of vile men this good prince is brought, and injustice must necessarily sit on the bench, when justice is dragged to the bar. The insolent president bids the king hearken to his charge, and a babbling and brazen-faced solicitor, one Cook, accuseth him, "in the name of the commons of England, and of all the people thereof, (which, God knows, was not one of a thousand,) of treason; charging him,

that by a tyrannical power he had endeavoured to overthrow the rights and liberties of this people, and, to defend himself in his traitorous practice, he had maliciously levied a war; and so mentions several of the battles that had been fought, and many slain, and how at that very time his son was in arms, as likewise my Lord of Ormond in Ireland." The king smiled at the foul appellations of *tyrant*, *traitor*, &c., which they gave him, disowns their authority, and that of their commission; told them, "that he was even at that time in treaty with his two houses, in order unto a general peace; as their sovereign and king, he denied any authority to be over him, but particularly asked how they came to assume it; bade them not go from one sin to another; told them he was not unwilling or unprepared to answer for what he had done, but he would never answer to such a court." This for some time lay in dispute betwixt him and the president. The president seems to reproach him that he had forgot his present condition, tells him, if he would not answer, they would take all *pro confesso*, and thus a day or two was spent. The king still telling them, "that he pleaded the cause of his people, as well as of himself, and therefore desired to be heard, and that power without law could make no law:" and

going on with his reasons, is interrupted by Bradshaw. The king bids him remember that he denied to hear his king ; asked him " what kind of court it was where reason could not be heard : " he inadvertently, but with great truth, told him " that he should find it there. " The king told him, " that his authority was from the House of Commons, who were never a court of judicature themselves, and therefore could not erect it. "

But after all, these nefarious men, who thirsted after the king's blood, would now brutishly suck it, so they give sentence upon him to sever his head from his body ; which sentence passed on Saturday, January 27, 1648, and he is carried back by his guard unto St James's. In the passage to his trial, he is met and reviled by some, and tobacco blown in his mouth, and his face spit upon by others. One honest soldier said but, " God bless you, sir, " and his captain caned him ; the king told the captain, " the punishment exceeded the offence. " About the bar anumerous rabble cry out for justice against him, and in the court he is saucily treated by all the officers.

The king's deportment was very majestic and steady, and though his tongue usually hesitated, yet he was very free at this time, for he was never discomposed in mind. And

The king
sentenced
to be be-
headed.

The king's
majestic
deportment
at his trial.

yet, as he confessed himself to the Bishop of London that attended him, one action shocked him very much ; for whilst he was leaning in the court upon his staff, which had an head of gold, the head broke off on a sudden ; he took it up, but seemed unconcerned, yet told the bishop, " it really made a great impression upon him, and to this hour (says he) I know not possibly how it should come." It was an accident, I confess, I myself have often thought on, and cannot imagine how it came about, unless Hugh Peters, (who was truly and really his gaoler, for at St James's nobody went to him but by Peters's leave,) had artificially tampered upon his staff; but such conjectures are of no use.

Bishop Juxon at last permitted to attend the king, in order to his preparation for death.

The king's behaviour both before and at the time of his death.

Though he was brought to St James's by Saturday noon, and though the Bishop of London was in town, and by their own directions and upon his desire called thither to attend him in order to the preparation for his death, yet they admitted him not until Sunday evening, though they murdered him on Tuesday. The bishop himself told me the manner of his reception. As soon as he came in, the king very openfacedly and cheerfully received him : the bishop began to make some condolment ; " Leave off this, (says he,) my lord, we have not time for it. Let us think

of our great work, and prepare to meet that great God, to whom ere long I am to give an account of myself; and I hope I shall do it with peace, and that you will assist me therein. We will not talk (says he) of these ~~regiments~~, (for that was his term,) in whose hands I am; they thirst after my blood, and they will have it, and God's will be done. I thank God I heartily forgive them, and I will talk of them no more." And so for two or three hours the bishop and he conferred together, and though they shut the door, a soldier would open it once in half a quarter of an hour, and see whether the king was there, and so shut it again; and then the next day, which was Monday, they spent much of their time together in like manner, and then they parted late that night, the murder being to be committed the next day. I have this comfort, that of himself, without any occasion to move him into the discourse, "My lord, (says he,) I must remember one that hath had relation to you and myself: tell Charles (for so he was pleased to call the prince,) he hath been an useful and honest man unto me. He required Mr Herbert (a gentleman who was appointed to attend him, and who had been very civil to him, and whom he recommended likewise to the present king,) to call him at four

of the clock in the morning; and Mr Herbert slept little himself, lying by him on a pallet bed, but observed through the whole night that the king slept very soundly, and at his hour awaked of himself, and drew his curtain. He soon got up, was about an hour at his own private devotions, and then called to be dressed; and Mr Herbert, who was wont to comb his head, combed it that morning with less care than usually: "Pr'ythee, (says he,) though it be not long to stand on my shoulders, take the same pains with it you were wont to do; I am to be a bridegroom to-day, and must be trim." Afterwards the bishop came in to him, and they were together until Hacker led him through the Park to Whitehall; and one of the commanders by the way, thinking to disturb him, asked him whether he were not consenting to his father's death; "Friend, (says he,) if I had no other sin, (I speak it with reverence to God's majesty,) I assure thee I would never ask him pardon." When he was come to Whitehall, they conveyed him into a room which is that they now call the Green-chamber, betwixt the king's closet and his bed-chamber, as I think.

The king
receives
the blessed

There they permitted him and the bishop to be alone for some time, and the bishop had

prepared all things in order to his receiving the sacrament; and whilst he was at his private devotions, Nye, and some other bold-faced ministers, knocked at his door, and the bishop going to open it, they told him they came to offer their service to pray with the king; he told them the king was at his own private devotions, however he would acquaint him. But the king resolving not to send out to them, they after some time had the modesty to knock again; the bishop suspecting who they were, told the king it would be necessary to give them some answer; the king replied, "Then (says he) thank them from me for the tender of themselves, but tell them plainly that they that have so often and causelessly prayed against me, shall never pray with me in this agony. They may if they please (and I'll thank them for it) pray for me." When he had received the Eucharist, he rose up from his knees with a cheerful and steady countenance: "Now (says he) let the rogues come; I have heartily forgiven them, and am prepared for all I am to undergo." It was a very cold day, and they at Whitehall had prepared two or three dishes of meat for him to dine upon, but he refused to eat any thing; and the bishop told me he resolved to touch nothing after the sacrament; but the bishop

sacrament
from the
hands of
the bishop.

expostulated with him, and let him know how long he had fasted, how sharp the weather was, and how some fit of fainting might take him upon the scaffold, which he knew he would be troubled at, for the interpretation his murderers would put upon it, which prevailed with him to eat half a manchet of bread, and drink a glass of wine ; and thus prepared, when he was called, he marched to the scaffold, and a gentleman of my acquaintance, that had so placed himself in Wallingford-House, that he could easily discern all that was done upon the scaffold, protested to me he saw him come out of the banqueting-house on the scaffold, with the same unconcernedness and motion that he usually had when he entered into it on a masque-night. And another gentleman whom I'll name, Dr Farrar, a physician, (a man of a pious heart, but fanciful brain, for this was he, that would have had the king and parliament have decided their business by lot,) had gained such a place upon the stage, that he assured me that as he had observed him before very majestic and steady, so when he had laid down his neck upon the block, he standing at some distance from him in a right line, he perceived his eye as quick and lively as ever he had seen it.

His speech before this unto the people (for me who relate too many things, to be long upon any, to say no more,) was very worthy of himself. This part of it became his great wisdom, when he told them, " They mistook the nature of government, for people are free under a government, not by being sharers in it, but by the due administration of the laws of it." After having prayed with the bishop and by himself, he submitted chearfully unto the providence that was dispensed unto him ; but he took notice of some engines his murderers had made, that in case he would not willingly submit, they might by violence have pulled him down, at which he smiled, as if he had been contented that they shewed the world the barbarity of their natures, and he the equanimity of his own. And indeed I had almost omitted one other evidence of it; for the chapter of the day fell out to be that of the passion of our Saviour, wherein it was mentioned, that " they led him away for envy, and crucified their king : " which he thought had been the bishop's choice, but when he found it was the course of the Rubric, he put off his hat, and said to the bishop, " I bless God it is thus fallen out." At last he laid down his head, stretched out his hands as the sign, and the executioner let drop the hat-

The king's
speech to
the people
worthy of
him.

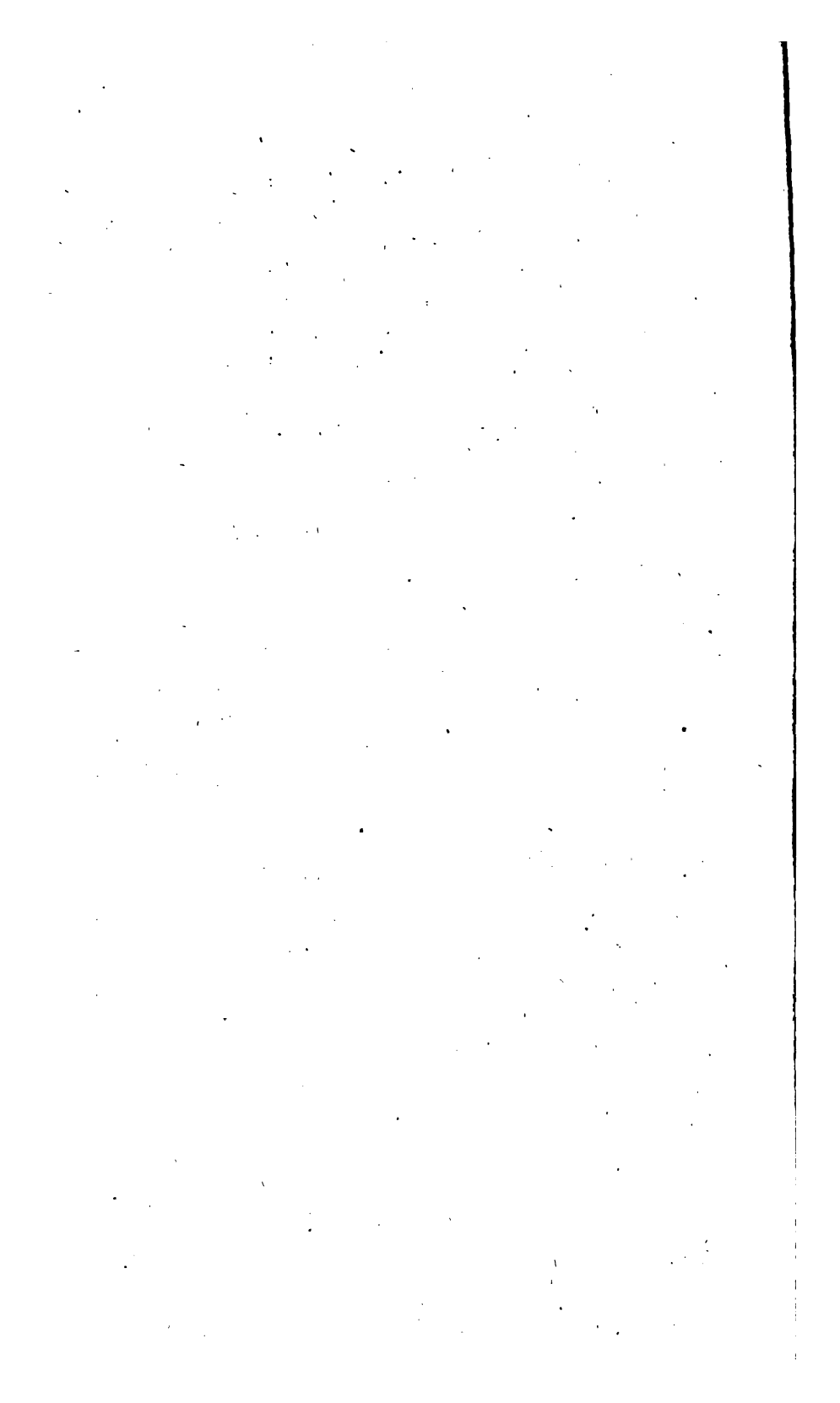
Beheaded.

chet, which severed it from his body. And thus this saint and martyr rested from his labours, and follows the Lamb.

Another
short cha-
racter of
the king.

I shall conclude with this, if it be lawful to compare small things with great, his passion or manner of death most resembles that of his great Master; for like him he was a king, and a king of that people that pursued him to his death. He was a king that resembled Seneca's refined rational man; one that forfeited with the vulgar (or the many mistaking and deceived narrow minds,) the repute of being a good man, that he might not lose to himself the conscience of being truly such a one. For his principles answered to true and solid reason, and suited with divine ordinances; and therefore he was (as in his history appears) owned by the persons of the best quality, and of most knowledge in his kingdom, even when he was so far from being able to reward, that he was not able to protect either himself or them; and, indeed, his condition was often so low and despicable, that as Darius Condomannus said unto his loyal adherents, so he might have said to his, " You that never forsook me, (though I have been twice overcome and twice forced to fly,) have been the best evidence to my mind, that I remained king, or that misfortune could not dethrone

me; so as God, not myself, reward you." Providence made him glorious; great and good minds will honour him; ignorant not discern him; politic (who think a kingdom should never be lost upon scruples,) not value him; but God, I am assured, hath pardoned his failures, and crowned him for his piety and his sufferings.



MEMOIRS,

OR

REFLECTIONS

ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS AFTER THE KING'S MURDER;

CONTINUED TO

THE HAPPY RESTORATION

OF

KING CHARLES II.



MEMOIRS,

OR

REFLECTIONS

ON THE STATE OF AFFAIRS AFTER THE KING'S MURDER.

WITHOUT further condolence, how inhumanly this good king was butchered, or how obscurely he since lies interred, (I may say not buried,) we will henceforward consider how prophetically he spake, when the first reformers began to take the government asunder, which he resembled to a watch, telling the tamperers with it that it was easy to disjoint the pieces, but hard to set them together again in good order ; and so it proved.

The proceedings of the two houses and army after the king's murder.

These enterprising men, that had disappointed all the policies of their first masters, (for, as hath been before expressed, there was no party but was deceived of their hopes, nor scarce any person that began this business

but it proved fatal to him,) thought now they singly moved upon their own centre, and were ready in this height of prosperity to conclude they should never be removed. Not reflecting that as my Lord Northumberland, and my Lord Say, Mr Hollis, and Mr Hambden, or the House of Commons and the House of Lords, thought it no sacrilege to usurp upon the king ; nor Mr Marshall, and Mr Nye, nor the assembly of divines, upon the bishops ; so a new super-refined and enlightened sort of men, Colonel Harrison and Rich, might think they were as little restrained from snatching the prey from Cromwell and Ireton, and their servant-masters, the now garbled House of Commons. For though at first all seemed of a piece, yet it was not long but a new spirit of levellers, and a new spawn of agitators, appeared to cut out their new masters new work ; (five thousand whereof Cromwell not long after scattered at Burford, they being betrayed by those they most confided in ;) yet this spirit cut out work enough for him during his life, and at last deposed his son. The first thing then they do is to proclaim against monarchy and the House of Peers, voting both burthensome and useless, and cancelling the ensigns of the kingly dignity, and putting

the like impressions upon their own new model of government or commonwealth.

The next was that Cromwell, freed from the fear of his levellers, little regards the complaints of his dear brethren the Scots, who now bewail the king's murder, the kirk's little reformation, and the covenant's dying condition; but he casts his eye rather upon Ireland, where he knew there was in chief command an eminent person, the Marquis of Ormond, at the head of a stout and loyal army; which he conceived fittest for to grapple with, and to be made an occasion to divert the fury of his own army, which he saw would be too busy in England, if they were not employed abroad: and therefore, having given directions for severely proceeding against all those who had taken part with the late king, (so as, not long after, Duke Hamilton, the Earl of Holland, and that excellent person, Lord Capel, suffered,) he began his expedition into Ireland, where unfortunately, by too much confidence and too much negligence, the vigilance and stoutness of Jones, then governor of Dublin, (who intended not much more than beating up a quarter, and hindering a small redoubt then casting up,) freed that city from its hopeful siege, and so scattered the marquis's whole army, that it is les-

Cromwell's
design on
Ireland.

The siege
of Dublin
raised.

son enough never to despise an enemy, or be too confident of out-guards, or suffer the body of an army to lie so loosely, as that, before they can be drawn together, they may be seized on by a panic fear. But in this prosperous condition Cromwell finds his affairs in Ireland when he landed; and pressing on his good fortune, to strike the more terror in that nation, though that considerable town of Drogheda was lately reinforced by five-and-twenty thousand men, and a good soldier governor thereof, Sir Arthur Aston, yet he takes it by storm, and puts both the governor, and all the officers and the soldiers, and very many of the inhabitants to the sword: the parliament army in the north of Ireland likewise, under Sir Charles Coote, freeing themselves from the siege of Londonderry, so that in less than a year he subdued the whole force of Ireland, and returned, leaving that government under his son-in-law, Iretton, who died at the siege of Limerick of a pestilential fever; and who, as he was a man of blood, (for he had deeply dyed himself in the king's,) expired with that word in his mouth, (for in his raving, as I was told by one that was then there, he cried out,) "I will have more blood, blood, blood,"

Drogheda
taken.

Londonderry
relieved.

Limerick
besieged,
where Iretton
died.

Thus so triumphantly and quickly Cromwell returning home into England, he had leisure to consider the Scots, who were then treating and near according with the present king, then in Holland, and at last they did so; though they had a great interruption in that affair by the ignominious death they had put Montrose unto. For before the accord he had taken commission from the king, in order to raise such an awe upon the kirk-party, as they might not insist on unreasonable demands from his majesty; and yet this loyal marquis falling into their hands as a prisoner, though thus warranted for what he did, they revengefully hanged him, and then quartered him, and set up his head in Edinburgh, and divers of his members in several principal cities of the kingdom. Notwithstanding all which a peace is concluded betwixt them and the king, his title acknowledged, and he comes over from Holland, though with much danger at sea, among them.

Cromwell's
proceeding
against the
Scots.

At this time Fairfax lays down his commission, for he that had taken the covenant was not to march against its place of birth. Cromwell is declared general, and is ready, with a considerable army of about 16,000 men, to march into Scotland, which country after

Cromwell
declared
general.

Battle of
Dunbar.

some time he had entered, and found the Scotch army strongly intrenched, and his own provisions failing him, he finds it not unfit to design a retreat towards Berwick to supply himself; but the Scots thinking they had an advantage put into their hands, boldly, and in good order, first with strong parties pursuing his rear, and then beating up his quarters, wherein courage was shewn on both sides, and little advantage got on either, at last, nigh Dunbar, the English having beat the Scots off from a pass or bridge, which was to secure their retreat, the whole bodies of both armies came to an engagement, but the English having placed and made use of their cannon very advantageously, and secured a ditch betwixt them and the enemy, happily engaged with the right wing of the Scotch horse, who disputed it very well, but at last were beaten; and their left wing as poorly quitting their ground, the Scotch foot fell as a prey either to slaughter or captivity. And thus this great battle won, (for it cost the Scots at least 12,000 men,) not long after Leith and Edinburgh itself fell into the hands of the English.

The re-
sentments
of the kirk
party.

And now this rebuke falling on the kirk-party, (for of that faction and dependence this army was composed, for they thought it

was to unsanctify them to mingle with any other,) they had argument enough *ad homines*, that success was not an evidence to evince the goodness of the cause : and therefore allegiance now must become a stolen wedge of gold, or Babylonish garment ; and the admittance of the king and his party into the land, (though not then in the army,) must be the reason why God's people fled ; and so both in his own person, servants, and party, the king is so ill treated, that from St Johnston's he intended to have made an escape, but some of his own greatest and nearest English attendants gave notice where he was, and he is stopped, and was pleased to return. And thus the necessity of their affairs makes them think rather of more respectfully using him, and so at Scone they crown him. And though all endeavours were to make all of a piece, yet a kirk-party are not very reconcilable, though for a time they can dissemble as well as their neighbours ; for it was not long before they divided themselves into distinct appellations ; some into *Resolvers*, others into *Protesters*, and some considerable officers (as Ker, Strauchan, and Lockhart,) are found so enlightened, that they have more of independent than presbyter in them, whereby Cromwell gets great advantages. And not long

The king
ill treated
by them.

The king's
march into
England.

after this, he pursuing his point diligently and resolvedly, to shew what Hamilton with a little fidelity in the last king's time might have done, Cromwell, with a small squadron of ships, landing some men at Inverkeithing, in Fife, cuts off all communication betwixt the king's army and the northern counties; and this forced the king and his army upon necessity, not choice, to march into England, where Duke William Hamilton, with so much fidelity and bravery, appeared through the whole expedition, (though many of the Scots quitted the king in the march,) and this army, by the king's conduct and courage, gave so good account of themselves throughout the whole march, that the reflections lay more upon the cowed English, who rose not to the assistance of their prince, (at that time with a good body of an army in the kingdom,) than on want of courage or conduct in the Scotch army, who resolvedly made their way as far as Worcester, and there fell fighting like a stout and warlike people. But the error of this army was, like that of the late king's, that they tried not their fortune in the direct way to London: for now rashness or despair would have sooner been interpreted wisdom, than caution or prudence, it being often more eligible to grapple with an im-

minent danger, than to prolong a certain ruin.

In the king's march about Lancashire, the brave Earl of Derby comes in to him, and in a small time had raised a good body of men, about 1200 at least; and had he had more time given him, he would have been soon considerable. But Cromwell had Argus's eyes, and ever watched a rising power, and so, by a party under Lilburne, nips this early bud: and after a sharp fight overthrows the earl, with a considerable body of gentlemen and officers, and takes him prisoner; and not long after the king's defeat at Worcester, by a council of war (though taken upon quarter) he is sentenced to death, and loses his head. The Earl of Derby defeated, and Beheaded.

The king's escape from Worcester carries with it such a proof of Divine Providence, that (his gratitude being suitable to it) it is no way to be doubted, but, as God gloriously brought him home, so he will make him an instrument of much good to his people. He is in danger in every element, yet saved in all. One while in a tree in the air, another by many by-paths and roads, and concealments in houses of the land. And, that we may see how great things depend upon small, he had like to have been betrayed by a horse-shoe; for a sagacious farrier that was to remove a The king defeated at Worcester, and his after-dangers.

shoe, found it had been well worn, and made, by its turn, in the north; and so gave notice that this company were like to be of the king's train. Nor was the element of water much less favourable to him: for the master of the vessel at Brighthelmstone, in Sussex, who transported the king, coming at midnight for his bottle of aqua-vitæ, his wife suspected that he was upon a design of transporting some eminent person, and so it fell under the secrecy of a woman, but it was a loyal one; for she encouraged him, and he got his mariners from shore upon pretence that his vessel was on drift, but with these difficulties he arrived at Roan, in France. Cromwell in the mean time marching up with his prisoners, they were soon sold as slaves into the plantations, whose nation not long before had sold their king; and Monk being left behind in Scotland, soon takes Stirling, and not long after surprises the chief body of the Scotch nobility,¹ above 300 noblemen and gentlemen, among whom was old General Lesly, and who were pretending to raise an army to relieve Dundee, which, after Stirling, General Monk had besieged, and where he found a very brave and stout resistance, and where the governor thereof was barbarously shot, after

¹ Near Alyth, in the county of Angus.

quarter given, by a fanatic officer, which troubled Monk very much.

After this, like ripe fruit, without so much as shaking the tree, fall into their hands St Andrews, and Aberdeen, and Dunbarton, and Dunnoter Castle, and other towns and castles, in which were all the great spoil and riches they had carried from out of England; so as, according unto their own proverb, "One was the day of the account, but another of pay." And though the northern parts some time after cost the English some pains and marches, because the commanders were choice men, such as the Lord Glencairn, Sir Arthur Forbes, and Middleton, yet the very isles of Orkney, the Hebrides, and Shetland, are reduced; and the isles of Guernsey and Jersey, near England, or rather Normandy, falling under the same fate with the Barbadoes and American isles in the West-Indies, all these submitting to Sir George Aiscough. And thus the new commonwealth was entirely master of all that was under the old English monarchy. And now who could think that this power should be so soon shaken, when Holland, and France, and Denmark, and Sweden, all make applications and desire the friendship of the prosperous? And

How soon
after Wor-
cester fight
all places
surrender-
ed.

yet we shall find a worm breeding in this gourd, and within seven or eight years the true and exiled heir, not long before forced to fly away in disguise, (the memory of whose father paved him a good way for his return,) appearing in the greatest glory and lustre imaginable, and entertained with the greatest love and breathings after him that could be evidenced by mankind.

A commonwealth,
and the sovereignty
of the
House of
Commons.

Council of
state.

Army.

War with
Holland.

The king thus murdered, his heirs exhereditated, and the statutes of 1^o Elizabeth and 3^o Jacobi, which acknowledged the sovereignty of the king and his heirs, repealed, a commonwealth is set up, and the legislative part of the government is declared in the House of Commons, and the executive part in a council of state; and the army appears servants to both, and yet were doubly masters of both. For the chief members of the army were the chief leading men, both in the House of Commons and council of state, and therefore it is no marvel that the first counsels were so stout and martial, and that they were so apt to resent the least injuries from their neighbour states. After this their prosperity both in Scotland and Ireland, they consider how their neighbours bear respect unto them; and the first war they make is with their elder mother commonwealth, that of Holland, v re

their late agent, Dorislaus (though not by the natives) had been assassinated; and to them they send Oliver Saint-John, lord chief justice of the Common Pleas, and Walter Strickland, as ambassadors, and they are to resent Dorislaus's death amongst other their instructions. But they themselves find such an irreverent usage from the common people there, as if the like fate might have befallen themselves, which they represented to their masters, and they so resent it, that they call them home: and presently, by an act of navigation, prohibit the importing of any foreign commodities, except upon English bottoms, or such as were of the country whence the commodities came. The Hollander immediately sends over ambassadors to divert the breach, but old injuries are remembered, and new complained of; and reparation must be made for Amboyna, and the herring fishing forborne or bought, and the river of Scheldt to Antwerp must be opened: so as, terms of peace being not agreed on, acts of hostility follow. Blake comes out as the English, and Van-Trump as the Dutch admiral; and they engage each other in Dover-road, and the flag is denied, and the Dutch are worsted, and leave the coast. This was in the year 1652. The same year Trump comes out again with 120 sail,

Act of navigation.

Blake.

Van-Trump.

and Sir George Aiscough being come from his West India voyage, with not above fifteen men of war, had like to have been surprised ; but Aiscough secures himself betwixt the castles of Deal and Sandown, where the wind blew so contrary to Trump, that he could not bear in unto them. And in the mean time Blake had spoiled the herring-fishing, and taken there some of the States' frigates, as likewise others under the command of Trump, who were separated from his body, whilst he was steering towards the Sound, whither he convoyed some merchantmen. But being no more successful, and his masters and the populacy grumbling, Trump lays down his commission, and Witten was appointed in his place.

Witten.

Sir George
Aiscough.

De Ruyter.

Sir George Aiscough being afterwards sent out with a good squadron or fleet, he, near Plymouth, is engaged with De Ruyter ; but the rencounter was of no great importance ; so as after some dispute both fleets drew off. For De Ruyter had secured his merchantmen, and Aiscough found it necessary to repair his torn fleet ; but not long after, Blake meets De Witt and worsts him, but De Witt soon made his way home. And now the Hollander finds it necessary to call in the Dane to his assistance, who offers to furnish

twenty men of war, so as Van-Trump might be persuaded to reassume his charge. Nor were the engagements singly on our own coasts; but Captain Badily in the Mediterranean is, with at least treble his number, set upon by Van-Galen, and, losing one of his ships, the Phoenix, but saving the rest, he signaled his valour and bravery by slaying Van-Galen in the fight; but Captain Cox, not long after, surprised and regained the Phoenix, which Badily had lost. This year likewise Van-Trump had a fourth combat, and worsted Blake near Goodwin's sands. After this, General Monk comes from Scotland, and is joined with Blake in the command at sea; and about Portland they engage, where Lawson did excellent service; and this fight continued two or three days. In 1653 there is a new engagement, where Blake, by reason of his indisposition of health, was absent, and Monk commanded in chief, Pen and Lawson being his vice and rear admirals. And here that most renowned seaman Van-Trump, true servant to the House of Orange, and friend to our king, was by a musket-shot slain, which made the Dutch retreat; and the English had bought their victory too dearly to pursue it.

Opdam supplies the place of Trump; but Opdam.

his masters, the States, sought rather to conclude the differences by a peace, than by a renewed war ; and they lay hold of the first change of government that was made in our new commonwealth ; for by this time the officers of the army, especially Harrison and his fifth-monarchy men, pretending Christ was only to reign, and his government to be exercised by the saints, new distinctions are raised betwixt the people of the land, (who were not promiscuously to be trusted with the choice of their own representatives) and the people of God, who were both to choose and fill up the vacant places ; and in such persons it was fit only to lodge the supreme authority, men fearing God and of approved sincerity.

The army dissolves the House of Commons, hereafter to consist of saints.

The speaker pulled out of the chair.

Upon this dispute betwixt the army and the parliament, Cromwell, Lambert, and Harrison enter the House of Commons, and declare a necessity of their dissolution, and the swordmen determine the question ; Harrison pulling the speaker out of the chair, and Cromwell commanding the mace to be carried away, and the doors of the house to be shut up, and the house to be guarded by soldiers, to prevent any further meetings. Cromwell knew all this was inconsistent with any government, but that it would make for him at

last; and so he favoured the disorder, though he appeared disturbed that there was a necessity of doing it.

And the next thing these men did was to constitute a council of state out of the chief officers of the army, and the factioners with them in the late dissolved parliament; and presently they make an ordinance for a six months' tax. The sum was lesser than the former assessments; so as that ease and the necessity of obeying made the money to be uninterruptedly and seemingly contentedly levied. However, at last they called a new House of Commons of saints, and they prove so seraphical and notional, that they are much more troublesome than any former; which being discerned, old Presbyter Rouse (then provost of Eaton) being their speaker, Cromwell so influenced him, that he, with a packed party of the house, surprising them, declared their sitting was no longer necessary, and so abruptly left the chair, (the servant dissolving the masters,) and took the mace with him, and marched to Whitehall to Cromwell, whilst Harrison sat still in the house; but a party of soldiers soon dispersed him and his company, and within four days Cromwell is chosen protector of the commonwealth of England, &c.

A new council of state.

The saint-like parliament dissolved.

Cromwell chosen protector.

By these two last instances of Harrison's pulling the speaker out of the chair, and Rouse's quitting his own chair, without any known authority but his own, and the subjects being generally taxed by a council of state, and their pretended representatives being thus forcibly dissolved, we may perceive how sacred the privileges of parliament were unto these sincere reformers, who had murdered their king, and made a bloody war upon their fellow-subjects, upon pretence of asserting the liberty of the subject and the privileges of parliament. And now subtle Cromwell, by these tyrannical zealots is made protector of the three kingdoms, and the monarchy, which was so late abjured, is innocently (as they think) resolved into a single person with a much more arbitrary government; and the heads of the instrument of the government (as they called it) drawn by the military officers, were as follow :

The new
heads of
government.

I. A parliament to be called every three years.

II. The first to assemble on the first of September, 1654.

III. No parliament to be dissolved till it have sat five months.

IV. Such bills as are offered to the protec-

tor by the parliament, if he assent not unto in twenty days, to be laws without him.

V. That his council shall not exceed the number of twenty-one, nor be less than thirteen.

VI. That immediately after the death of the present and succeeding protectors, the council shall choose another before they rise.

VII. No protector, after the present, shall be general of the army.

VIII. The protector shall have power to make war or peace.

IX. That in the intervals of parliament, the protector and the council may make some laws, which shall be binding to the subject.

All this comes in the place of Magna Charta. And here is a prerogative a people must bear, who would not endure a Star Chamber.

The last article shews plainly, even in these men's judgments, that the authority anciently and formerly used by the kings in making proclamations, and requiring obedience unto regal authority, in matters not contrary to the known and standing laws, was a necessary and constituent part of government ; but this must be denied to the king their governor ; and yet a power left in their public minister

or protector, in whom the sovereignty was not lodged, to make even laws in the intervals of parliament.

Cromwell
inaugura-
ted protect-
or.

And the protector, who was attended unto the Chancery court by all the judges, lord mayor, and aldermen, as likewise by the army, in great state and solemnity, is to swear to the observance of this model of government; and how well he performed it, the dissolving them before the time prefixed, and interrupting them even in their framing bills, the following narration will declare; however, he swears in the words following, *viz.*

“ I promise, in the presence of God, not to violate or infringe the matters and things contained in the instrument, but to observe, and cause the same to be observed, and in all things, to the best of my understanding, govern the nation according to the laws, statutes, and customs thereof, and to seek their peace, and cause justice and law to be equally administered.”

And now his vision is made good, for he was actually the best man in the kingdom, (as best is used for greatest;) but it deceived him; for though it made good what it promised, yet it fell short of his ambition, king-

ship, which was his aim, and which, by reason of the broken parties among themselves, he could never attain unto. For "there is no peace unto the ungodly, says my God, but they are like a troubled sea, casting up mire;" or whose counsels can disturb all, but scarce settle any thing; and this alteration, we shall find, brings him in new counsels and new aims in point of government both at home and abroad.

In this year, therefore, of 1654, the subtle Dutch, perceiving how inferior their ships were in point of building unto ours, (and the main body of our first and second rate ships, which in all the fights ever turned the scale, were those built by the late king,) that they might get some time to better their navy, humbly and industriously seek a peace; which Cromwell would never have granted, but as he saw it might contribute to his single-ship, or the settling him and his family in the throne, and the excluding the true heir, (which may be thought a true ingredient in the following peace with France,) and a peace is made both with Holland and Denmark. And now interest of state, which would be reckoned degeneracy in a private mind, makes it wisdom in princes to worship any idol which is set up. And Spain, and France,

The Dutch peace granted, in order to Cromwell's settlement.

and Portugal, and Sweden, as well as Holland and Denmark, (and indeed who not?) even the very Hansetowns also, come in and congratulate. But we shall soon perceive that, however selfishness is declaimed against, particular interest governs the world.

The impo-
litic peace
made with
France and
Sweden.

For now Cromwell, devoid of natural affection unto, and not weighing the true interest of his country, makes his most near and secret confederations with France and Sweden, which we feel to this day; though perchance we run into the same error. This had almost made Sweden entirely lord of the Baltic sea; though it was England's interest that that dominion should be always divided, or in a weak prince's hands; for if it were singly in any one, especially in Sweden's, (who, by the late treaty at Munster, was become a great member of the empire) it must make that northern prince as considerable as either of the two great monarchies, France or Spain. And thus by the peace that France made with England, and the assistance the protector gave her, the French monarchy took that footing in Flanders, that it forced Spain to the peace of Fontaraby, which made the match betwixt that young king and the Infanta of Spain, (who had the best title unto Flanders,) which the French by oath upon

this treaty disclaimed. But interest of state dispensed with conscience, or cleared her from keeping that oath, as the since bloody and yet prosperous war (on the French side) betwixt those two crowns makes appear; and though Spain be now backed with almost all the German empire, and Holland and Denmark, yet how likely Flanders is to be swallowed up the English are now sensible of, and may give Cromwell part of their thanks. It was in this year that the chief rebels in the first massacre in Ireland were taken and executed, and shoals of them slain; for blood will have blood. It was at this time, when General Monk being sent into Scotland, Morgan first, and he afterwards, gave the defeats to Forbes and Middleton.

Monk sent
into Scot-
land.

This was the time likewise when the kirk of Scotland surely thought that Antichrist was in his height; for from a presbyterian ecclesiastical power they were fallen into a lay-independent's hand; for now the general assemblies of the kirk were interdicted by the soldiers; but by Argyle's intercession, who was as deformedly obsequious to Cromwell as he had been insolently rebellious against his late majesty, the presbyterians have leave to meet, but the wings of excommunication are pinioned.

The distress
of the kirk
of Scot-
land.

Cromwell's
disappoint-
ing of Lam-
bert.

Fleetwood
sent into
Ireland.

Cromwell's
first parlia-
ment, on
the third of
September.

Monk thus settled in Scotland, though the eye of the world was upon Lambert's being designed for Ireland, and he himself had made preparations for it, yet Cromwell's jealousy diverted it, telling him that he himself could not want such a second in England, and Fleetwood, his son-in-law, is sent over lord deputy thither.

And now, (though Christ-tide must not be observed) as if good fortune waited upon particular days, the third of September, which had often been prosperous unto Cromwell's arms, (whenceby we see superstition will creep in even among the godly) must be made use of for the meeting of his first parliament; and the day must be tried if it would influence his civil affairs as it had done his military; and the old trusty cloakbag-nag, Lenthall, (who had kept the chair, when sentence was given upon the king,) though he was pulled out of his chair by Harrison in the last dissolved parliament, must now be put in it again, and be the speaker of this parliament. But the other members are not so conform and servile as the speaker; for they begin to question the authority they sit by, and therefore are interdicted sitting till they acknowledge it; which many members not doing, long before the end of five months, the time

secured by the instrument, the protector dissolves them. But still that is saintsship in a protector which is tyranny in a king. For if the holy spirit rules in such men, and gives them the rule over others, neither perjury nor any other act of violence can amount unto a sin; and yet other enlightened men, even of the same tribe, and at the same time, as Major Wildman and others, set forth a declaration of the lawfulness of taking up arms against this great potentate. But the great leviathan laughs at these darts flung against him; and being now egged on by the French, and his own covetous as well as ambitious desire, he entertains a great design against the Spanish monarchy in the West Indies, and under Pen as admiral, and Venables as commander of the land forces, he attempts that great island, Hispaniola, which, by ill conduct, failing, and his men by change of air being become as it were moped and devoid of courage, they are routed by a handful of men, and forced to retire to their ships, but they recover resolution enough to take Jamaica, which is an island of some importance, and may prove a shrewd thorn in Spain's side. One Gage, a priest, was a great promoter of this expedition; for the saint state ministers can draw water from a popish cistern.

The expedition to Hispaniola.

Jamaica taken.

Expedi-
tion into
the Medi-
terranean.

Protestants
in Savoy
relieved.

This success neither answered to the charge nor honour of the expedition; yet he keeps up his credit abroad, and Tunis, and Tripoli, and Algiers, in the Mediterranean, make peace with him. And though he was persecuting the old protestant church at home; yet he must appear forward to be head of the protestant religion abroad; and therefore he sends his agents abroad in behalf of the protestants in Piedmont and Savoy, whom their own prince, that duke, at that time used with great rigour. This was in the year 1655. Active Mr Downing and Morland are sent to Turin, and Dr Pell, a learned mathematician, to the Swiss; but the protector's interest was not powerful enough to effect their relief in this inland country, but as his new and strict confederate, the king of France, procures it for him; and, to make the greater shew of his zeal in this work, he recommends a general, free, and charitable contribution to be made for these poor sufferers throughout all this kingdom of England; and great sums were raised by it, but much more than ever came to their hands. For the men of these times, or their publicans and receivers of taxes, were grown very expert (notwithstanding all their saintship) to provide for themselves,

when they should be cast out of their stewardship.

Thus the new commonwealth or republic being agitated, every change gives some false hopes to the restless and inconsiderate, though highly loyal cavaliers, who are projecting new risings; not considering that there were some false brethren, many necessitous and futile among them; nor weighing how weak oppositions strengthen usurped titles, and this runs them all generally, *viz.* tamperers, and those that were quiet, into one state, and their estates must be decimated, which to the full they paid; and a new sort of governors must be raised (upon pretence of watching them, but really to bridle all parties) called major-generals, who were roytelets, or petty kings or state mastives. There were eleven of them in number, and the whole kingdom was divided among them; and they lorded it over my Lord Northumberland and his followers as much as over any of our tribe of cavaliers; and I do more than believe, that most of us less respected or observed them, than he and the other lords and persons of that party did; and yet we were as much esteemed by them, for a steady loyalty was not despised by these great ones. And however afterwards it fared with those that retained it, if it would then

The inconsiderateness of the cavaliers.

A decimation of their estates.

Major-generals set up.

have warped towards the present power, or changed its lord, it would have found trust and encouragement here; for the world knows that Cromwell used many artifices to gain them; and it is no vanity to say, that this numerous and considerable party in the nobility, clergy, and gentry, were then so steady to their principles, so regular in their lives, and so exemplary to all, (though there were some drinking Hectors intermixed,) that they converted very many, and had they kept the same temper upon his majesty's return, which they did to make way for his return, (to say no more,) we had certainly been in a better state than we are at present; but

*Sævior armis
Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.*

The second
parlia-
ment.

It is too often the misfortune of this poor nation, that people cannot be long without a parliament, nor well with it; and therefore, in the year 1656, new writs go out for summoning a new parliament, and though they are to meet in the same month, September, yet the third day is changed into the seventeenth. And here Sir Thomas Widdrington is speaker, a man at this time wholly devoted to Cromwell, though for some time at

first he endeavoured to be reputed (but never got to be thought) a royalist.

The government must now take a cordial, that it might not be infected, lest, after the choice of parliament-men, this assembly might be suspected to have an ill breath ; and therefore the council of state are to approve of the persons elected parliament-men before they sit, by which means Cromwell kept out for a time those that were disaffected to him. But this must not be interpreted violation of a parliament in a protector, or state, or commonwealth, whatever it had been in a king. And he passed laws to strengthen his authority ; and they that sate disannulled the king's title, and gave security to the protector's person, and vote the Spanish war to be continued, and clip the wings of the major-generals, and recommend unto him, as the best means to secure the peace of the nation, to take upon him the kingship : all which is called, *The humble Petition and Advice* : this last was an arrow that very likely was pulled out of the quiver of Sir Thomas Widdrington, though it was headed by Cromwell's own ambition ; for Widdrington was a good lawyer, but naturally a cautious and timorous man, and he well knew how great security the ancient laws in being gave unto all actors that moved under

Kingship
offered un-
to Crom-
well.

or with a crowned head. But his own army will not endure it, and indeed there was no entire interest firm totally unto him, neither the presbyterian nor independent churches, less the fifth-monarchy men, and least of all the royalists. For if there were union among any of the former, it was because they all feared the true title, and though he had peace with this present parliament at this present time, yet it was because he had deprived very many of the most considerable members of their right of sitting, and indeed at this time some desperate spirits of his own army, such as Syndercomb, Sexby, and others, had resolved to assassinate him.

He refuseth it.

Upon the whole matter the great hypocrite is forced to refuse the title of king, and then finds it fit to adjourn his parliament unto the January following. But, lest the not daring to assume that title of king should be a diminution unto his authority of protector, he (like an anabaptist) retakes the same, or brings to the font again his fuller grown babe, the protectorship, and with great solemnity is re-installed in that office at Westminster-hall, where he receives four emblems of government, *viz.* a purple-velvet robe, lined with ermines, put on him by the Earl of Warwick; a rich bible, with studs of gold, presented by

He renews his protectorship.

Whitlock, commissioner of the great seal; and a sceptre and a sword delivered him by the speaker. And now he models his house that it might have some resemblance unto a court, and his liveries, and lacqueys, and yeomen of the guard, are known whom they belong unto by their habit. His two daughters, gentlewomen of good virtue and modesty, are married to two noble families; one to the heir of the eldest son of the Earl of Warwick, and the other to the Lord Falconbridge, a nobleman of great parts, and by his friends supposed not to have wanted therein an ambition to serve the king, (at least he said so,) he makes his youngest son, Henry, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and his eldest, Richard, Chancellor of Oxford. His navies abroad are successful; for, in the year 1656, his squadron, under Admiral Stannier, gains a rich booty and victory over the Plate fleet, wherein the protector shewed some generosity, by civilly treating, and freely and without ransom sending home some young noblemen who had lost their parents and their portions in that rencounter. And in 1657, Blake's rash and daring attempt proved very fortunate and glorious upon the Spanish ships in Santa Cruz; where, if the wind had not, almost to a miracle, veered about to bring him,

His successes at sea.

off, the conqueror must have necessarily been conquered. For, as he was not able to bring off his prize, and therefore burnt it, so he had not been able to bring off himself unless the wind had been thus favourable unto him.

How he
advanced
the French
greatness
by land.

Nor were his forces less prosperous by land, but they served to set up the greatness of France, not England. For, with the 6000 men he sent over into Flanders, as auxiliaries, those considerable places, Montmedi, St Venant, and Mardike, are taken by the French, and the year following, 1658, Dunkirk being begirt by the French forces, commanded by Marshal Turenne and Schomberg, and the English by our Morgan and Lockhart, both valued much by the French, the defeat was given to Don John, our Duke of York, the Prince of Conde, and the Marquis of Caracena. In this battle the English were the great instruments of victory, and after this victory Dunkirk itself was delivered up unto the French king, and by his command into the hands of General Lockhart, for the English.

These were the great actions that signalized the protector's last years of his life, and these were the great advantages that France made by the English, and are her best ex-

cuses for her ingratitude all this time unto our king; who, by his own good parts and abilities, had, in a nick of time, when Providence might have flung that king into the same condition our prince was in, made himself an happy instrument to re-settle Paris in its loyalty, and to divert the Prince of Conde from the great changes probably he might have made. Nor was Spain decently grateful to him; for he brought over into that service a body of men, who, though they were not numerous, were very valuable, and whom he had reserved for his own service, to have seconded some fortunate rising in England; and though he ventured them, and the persons of his two illustrious brothers, the Dukes of York and Gloucester, with the Marquis of Ormond, and other considerable officers, yet Spain used him coarsely, though they commanded him not out of their country, as did France and Holland. Such little prevalencies have the virtues of the mind amongst persons dignified with the supremest characters toward men of their own rank, if unfortunate. But nothing Cromwell could do abroad procured him reverence or esteem at home; for here he could master nobody but the loyal and forward party of the king, and some of them every year fell a sacrifice

How our king served both in France and Spain, and yet how ill requited.

How much valued Cromwell was abroad, and how little esteemed at home.

to him; as the Marquis of Ormond had almost done, being here in London at that time to head a rising which the protector had discovered, and for some time cherished; but that reverend divine, Dr Hewet, and that loyal knight, Sir Henry Slingsby, both at this time lose their heads.

This nation knew the idol a pear-tree, and they would not bow down to it; and the most so abominated the usurpations of the old kingly government, that they would never willingly submit their necks unto a new form. And indeed they had great reason, for every change was more arbitrary and tyrannical than the other, not unto them singly, but unto the subject in general. Though some of these things above mentioned preceded the time we are now in, and some followed the meeting of the next session of parliament, yet, being all of a nature, we have put them together, and we may say, the refractoriness of this assembly, which met again the 26th of January, 1657, brake Cromwell's heart; for he being overpersuaded by the speaker and those members in the last session, who had then so submissively conformed to him, in this session to admit those whom he had then excluded, and he having likewise affected to rear a distinct house from that of the Com-

The second session of the former parliament.

mons, in resemblance of the House of Lords, and which never got an higher title than that of the *other house*; this weakened his party in many of the leading men of the House of Commons by carrying away from thence divers of his best speakers, and those who were refractory, and had rejected that honour of sitting in the new House of Lords, envying the other's empty title.

A lords',
(or, as they
called it,
the other)
house.

This parliament had not sat above fifteen or sixteen days, when he finds himself necessitated to dissolve them. For they call in question all that had been done in the last session, by reason of the exclusion of their fellow members; and they held his House of Lords in contempt, and they were throwing down the pageantry of the famous petition and advice. All which so enraged him, (for his brain really was grown a little hot, as was Admiral Blake's, before he died,) that, notwithstanding all persuasion of friends, he takes an hackney, and hastes to his lords' house, and sends for his commons, and acquaints them, that as he had taken an oath to the government, so they had a like oath to him; (a doctrine which may be said most true and politic, but by him forgot when he was a subject.) He told them likewise that they were tumbling all into a confusion, and therefore he

Cromwell
dissolves
this parlia-
ment.

His discontent and chagrin.

had resolved to dissolve them. But that which was thought to have pinched him to the quick was, that he found that even his nearest friends were not true to him. For Desborough, his brother-in-law, and Fleetwood, his son-in-law, were in confederacy with Pickering and Sydenham, and others of his privy council, (whom he thought securest to him) to change the government into a commonwealth. And thus agitated, some time before his death he seems dispirited, and by the acquaintance I had with an old gentlewoman, who made his broths and jellies, and other such cockering meats, I learnt, that for one while he frequently used these, and for another he took large draughts of wine; and he seldom awaked even in the night but with one or other of these he must be replenished. And sure these were better comforts to him than the reflections on his successes.

His sickness.

So as at last falling into a fever, he soon fell into a delirium, and one of his physicians, whom I was intimately acquainted with, assured me, that during all his sickness he was never master of so much reason as to determine any thing of his successor or matters of state; and yet his fulsome flattering divines and friends all gave themselves assurance of his recovery. Insomuch, as Thomas Good-

win, in his saucy expostulations with God in prayer, would tell God, that they asked not for his life, for they were assured he had too great things for this man to do to remove him yet; but they prayed for his speedy recovery, because his life and presence were so necessary to divers things, then of great moment to be dispatched. But all this while this poor gentleman lay disturbed in his head, and, as it was thought, reflecting upon a then meeting of the independent ministers, that were assembled at the Savoy to set forth their articles of faith; for the most that he said was, "They must be satisfied, they must be satisfied, or else we all run into blood again." And though it was pretended at that time by Thurlo the secretary, and Goodwin the minister, that he gave particular directions to them that his son Richard should be his successor, and they brought in others afterwards to testify the same, yet this physician assured me, he never was in any such condition as distinctly to know what he did. And thus on his beloved and victorious day, the third of September, 1658, he expired *sicca morte*, ten years after he had spilled the innocent blood of the king; and though he had run through so many dangers, and had so many plots against his life, and committed so many wicked and

His death.

flagitious acts, yet he breathed out his last in his bed. But, as if the elements as well as men had waited for this day, the day preceding there was as loud and great a tempest as was at any time ever known. His interment not long after followed; and it was with as much pomp and ceremony as belonged unto, or had been paid unto any king. And by this meteor's extinction and the history that follows after him, we may see, that the felicity which is not grounded upon virtue most commonly is but of short duration, unless it be fixed by that hand of providence which usually deposes and disposes governments.

The giddy and brain-sick temper of the state after Cromwell's death.

And now after his death, as if God would pour out shame upon this nation, such a spirit of giddiness appears, that our government seems to have the twisting of the guts; and nothing could pass in their new politics. For a flaw, even among themselves, is in his heir's title, and therefore Richard durst not be proclaimed protector till Fleetwood and Desborough (his uncle and his brother-in-law) were sent unto to know whether they would acquiesce; because a former paper under Cromwell's hand was known to have been signed, which appointed Fleetwood to succeed him. But in truth, he was not in a condition to name his successor when it is said he did.

But they declaring their acquiescence, the heir goes to Westminster-hall in state, and takes his oath before Nathaniel Fiennes, (keeper of the great seal,) to maintain the religion and laws of the land, &c. And after that, acknowledgments of his power come from all places, the counties, the cities, the great ones, the army, nay, Monk in Scotland, Sir Charles Coote in Ireland, and Lockhart from Dunkirk, all acknowledge and agree, since he was the great man, he was fittest to be the great man. Notwithstanding all this, he presently falls under suspicion with his army, who pretend that he would bring in the king; (but he had no so good inclination, only he had been formerly a little debauched, and conversed sometimes with several cavaliers, and in his jovialty he would drink King Charles's health.) And his uncle Desborough (now a leading man) proposes Fleetwood to be general of the army.

His son
Richard
protector.
His oath.

This made it necessary to call a parliament, and Scotland and Ireland are to send their members and sit amongst them, and Mr Clute is chosen speaker; who was a very able man at a chancery bar, and as ill (it is said) at collecting the sense of the house in the chair. This was in the beginning of 1659. This parliament was likewise to consist of an

The Scotch
and Irish
sit in the
House of
Commons.

The officers of the army's council. House of Commons, and the other house. The officers of the army, notwithstanding the parliament's sitting, frequently meet at Wallingford-house, and the pretended lords' house appear to favour the army, and to countenance their meetings; and the commons' house dislike it, and vote against it. Richard, and his council, and his parliament debate many things; but, like irresolute and fearful souls, hesitate so long upon their points, that they lose the opportunity of putting any thing in execution; and Desborough, at last, observing how faintly their pulses beat, prevails on (if not forces) Richard his nephew to dissolve this his first parliament.

The parliament dissolved.

A new model of government.

The inferior officers of the army appear concerned in settling the government.

And now, at Wallingford-house, a new model of government is framing; and Fleetwood is declared commander in chief of the army. But no sooner is this on foot among the chief officers, but Dr Owen gets together, at St James's chapel, the inferior officers, (for all the congregation was righteous, and Moses and Aaron take too much upon them, and Lambert countenances these,) so as Fleetwood, the commander in chief, and Desborough, must strike sail, and the protector's chief confidants in the army, Colonel Ingoldsby, Howard, and Norton, &c. are discarded; and articles are proposed to oblige the succeeding parliament

to set up a commonwealth ; but the army's wisest friends prevail with them for not imposing this as a condition of their sitting. But the army, instead of calling a new parliament, recalls the old members in the Long Parliament, which sat in the year 1653, when Harrison pulled the speaker out of the chair, and Cromwell carried away the mace ; for the army acknowledges, that till this time they had the presence of God among them, or Shekinah ; but that then they turned out of the way, when they turned these good men out of the house, and thereby they brought the *good old cause* into reproach. But notwithstanding all this, he that observes the army's declaration, will find they promise these members safety for their sitting, not obedience unto what they determined. This assembly meet, and were called the *Rump*, or the tail of the Long Parliament, but Prynne, Booth, and Rossiter, &c. are secluded ; notwithstanding this violation, all must be interpreted treading in the right way, and preserving privileges of parliament. And unto this Rump the army makes a new address of proposals :

A commonwealth is affected.

That liberty and property be maintained according to the law.

The army's proposals.

That the law be so regulated, that it be not vexatious.

That there be a gospel-preaching ministry.

That none be intrusted with any share in the government that are not affected to it.

That parliaments may not sit too long, and a council of state may be constituted.

And many other heads, that had been before proposed, but often miscarried.

The speedy
downfall
or condi-
tion of
Cromwell's
family.

But this only body of men, (the Rump,) though they dislike several things of the officers' petition, yet seem to approve all; for they gain this main point, that the new protector should sneakingly lay down his commission, and from 20,000*l.* per annum, (10,000*l.* whereof was to be an inheritance, and 10,000*l.* for life, and 8000*l.* for his mother's life) all resolves itself into 20,000*l.* per annum for his subsistence, and in conclusion that never to be paid; and he had warning given him to remove from Whitehall within six days. And they thought it fit likewise to recall his younger brother, Henry, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from thence; who, with the same meekness of spirit as his brother, tamely lays down his charge. And thus the sons in their ambitions differed from their father, and the bonfire of straw, or great blaze of Cromwell's

family is extinguished, and buried in its own ashes; which, if he could have foreseen, he would not have thought Providence so much his friend as during his whole life he entitled himself unto. Or, indeed, if the first reformers, or rather underminers, and all the successive factions that followed after them, and which continued even unto this day in motion, had foreseen how frustrate their designs, or how subventaneous or addle their eggs would have proved, *Vitasset cælum Phaeton*, surely they would never have scorched their own country, and burned themselves in those flames they themselves had raised. But the deceit is, even those men who have most integrity of thoughts, (without reflecting upon a self-ended designer, for he is a downright knave,) if strongly they affect any thing, and can justly complain of any small inconvenience in a matter settled, (which will never be wanting in any state while men govern,) they presently promise themselves, that whatever they project shall come to pass, not discerning the ill consequence of what they have not experimented. But had the first designers of our changes had grace to have considered the iniquity and obliquity of their ways, by laying their actions to the rule of the law, (for it is true principles, not warm

The disappointments to all the innovators.

The incogitancy of most sorts of men in time of danger.

inventions, which with God and wise men will denominate a good subject) they would not have been disciples of the old Lord Say, who publicly, in the House of Lords, avowed to a bishop, (making use of that sentence, that evil was not to be done, that good might come thereof,) that that was not to be understood in relation unto public changes, but unto private men's affairs; or had they had this sobriety of thoughts, that it became wise men never to overthrow one government till they were assured that all their own party at least would conform unto what in lieu thereof should be set up; or would yet the vulgar or multitude of men, after the experience of so many ages in our Eutopia, (or country,) at least have learned to know how the few crafty deceive the numerous rabble, and that one boy can drive a whole herd out of a plentiful pasture into a bare common, or into a butcher's shambles, they would have endeavoured to have shaken off a scriptural phrase, which terms the multitude, the beast of the field; or would the cautious, sober, and discerning men, who will not concern themselves in the danger, till involved in the misery, timely observe and withstand the art of innovators, who set up the strength of the multitude against the wisdom of experienced

counsellors, (which is an incumbent duty both by God's law and man's on them) the deformity of popular and tumultuous reformation would have appeared so formidable, that, as in the natural body, the hand voluntarily exposes itself to danger to save the head, so in the politic, it is the duty of every honest man timely to assist the tottering or undermined state ; for we see, when the first opportunity is lost, the danger is seldom prevented. If any of these thoughts had prevailed with the men of this generation, they would very probably have early secured their own peace, and never have effected a reformation but by ways of peace. The ignorance of one sort of men, and the indifferency of the other, makes this rather to be wished than hoped for in any age. Any of these thoughts might have preserved our old king and our old laws ; but the want of them dashed us against one another, and made us spend our strength and our treasure to secure false titles and imaginary principles.

The next scene is the army's working upon itself, countenanced by the authority of these rumpers, whereof young Sir Henry Vane, Sir Arthur Haslerig, and Scott were the chief. Fleetwood was voted general of the army ; but these gownmen or counsellors of state

The distemper of the army within itself.

Fleetwood.

Lambert.

are joined in commission with him, to approve all commissions that he shall give to any officers. After this follows another twist of the guts ; for Lambert presently becomes the great man of the army, and yet is not intrusted in placing the officers, for both he and all the rest of them are to receive their commissions from the speaker, that they might learn on whom to depend, and kissing will still go by favour ; for now the chief officers that were affected to Cromwell, or were suspected with Monk, are to be removed, and others of their own principles advanced. But this experienced brave old commander, Monk, having received letters or orders about new commissions, he could read the character presently, and knew what it meant ; and takes such notice of it, that he by his reply seems rather ready to lay down his commission than his honour in having his under officers not to depend on him, though very probably he was machinating nothing less.

The nation in general, disturbed with these frequent changes, demands a free parliament.

The nation is disturbed at all this, and seemed to have been made the may-game of fortune. And therefore, without the least reflection in favour of the king, they appear all dissatisfied with this rump of parliament ; and an hasty plot there was for a general rising in all counties in demand of a free parliament,

or at least, that the members secluded from 1648 should all be admitted to sit as well as others were who were allowed by the army. But vigilant Scott and Haslerig, and the watchful chief officers, had made a discovery of this general design by several ways, though an intercepted letter to a lady is pretended to have given them the first knowledge of it. So as these southern parts not rising at the time appointed, they soon disanimate the rest. And though a disposition and preparation there-upto was known in most parts, yet there was no appearance made, excepting a faint one about Rufford Abbey, the Lady Savil's residence, and a considerable one in Cheshire, and those neighbouring counties, which were principally headed by Sir George Booth, but directed by some good officers; and had they had time given them, or not a disheartening by the non-appearance of other counties, most probably, by what they did with a handful of men, it may be conjectured what they would have done with those great numbers which would have flocked in to them, had others done their parts. But this noble lord (for so he is now) and his party thus dispersed by Lambert, and the parliament being freed from the fear of this dangerous and generally intended rising, they become more peremptory and

The rising
of Sir
George
Booth in
Cheshire.

positive in their commands on the army ; and the army valuing themselves upon their good fortune and victory, they become less observant of their masters' commands, which the others perceiving, they draw over Monk or the Scotch army to them, which Lambert's army and his party in London sensible of, they resolve to weaken this army first by factions among themselves, to countenance which Lambert marches toward the Scotch borders, and there to improve his design as any emergency gave an opportunity. But here fortune, who had thus long smiled on him, now resolved to fail and laugh at him, and so we will leave him for a time.

The standing army governs arbitrarily.

Thus, whatever the constituent parts of a government are, if a standing army be in being, and be headed by a Cromwell or a Lambert, the government may well be reckoned to consist of army as well as king, lords, and commons ; for brutish power will soon rank itself with reasonable and legal authority. And thus we find the pretorian bands did among the Romans, one while setting up, and at another deposing their emperors, and thus we see our army hath done with their masters throughout this whole unnatural intestine war ; for armies, as they are often necessary to maintain the peace of a nation, (at

least good guards that the prince's person may not be surprised by every tumultuous city or rising in it, for two thousand of such men at first would have secured our late king and our peace,) so when they are numerous, and have an ambitious general, or some mutinous, agitating, and levelling spirits among them, they will first disturb the power they were raised to secure, (as ours did the two houses their masters,) and then they will operate upon their own body : and agitators must be tribunes for the common soldiers ; and if the chief officers meet in council in one place, the inferior will in another ; and the common man, if he please, will turn level-ler, and be governed by plebeians. All which in our own story is evidence enough to show, that if men will cast off the rules of subjection which God hath prescribed, (who hath directed all to be under the authority of one, to the end there may be no diversity of commands,) and will cast themselves into factions and parties, they then, and not till then, may be justly reckoned a nation divided against itself ; and there can be no peace where there is no steadiness of counsel, or where factions are raised. For every faction is an opposition unto the standing law, and that will by some or other be abetted ; and therefore no

How rebel-
lions breed
factions,
and how
hard it is
for factions
long to
keep close
together.

man can enter into such a society as opposes this law and be guiltless, and few there are who do it that are fortunate ; whilst he that adheres to the law may be disturbed in his person and estate, but is quiet in his mind, and, by the goodness of Divine Providence, most commonly finds some shelter in the storm, and by his integrity hath his root better fixed after it. For if men in legal and settled authority are most commonly malign-ed and envied, intruders will be soon disobey-ed and cast off ; for every man will think, that as he hath as much right to set up a new form of government as another, so he hath as much wit ; and therefore one faction most commonly begets (as well as it is opposed by) another ; and factions can never be true to themselves, because they have no certain rule to proceed upon. And thus if they begin all of one mind, yet they cannot continue long so ; since every important action, wherein they receive any check, must force them to vary even their first principles and designs. In which changes they are unlikely to find an universal concurrence even in their own body, which runs them into subdivisions among themselves. All which, as it was the aim of these papers from the first to show, so I met with a book no longer since than yesterday

(May the 18th, 1667,) when I was thus far advanced in this story, written by that learned judge, Hales, being reflections upon the life of Pomponius Atticus, that I cannot but thus interlard some of his observations ; because his authority, as well as his reason, may very probably prevail with the men of this age, who are too apt to tread in the same steps of their late predecessors. In laying down this whole history, I am sure my intent is no other than to warn the prince, as well as the subject, that if he would preserve his own peace and security, he must preserve his established religion and laws ; and if the subject would claim the benefit of the law, he must let it be expounded by the common usage and the known expositions that the judges of the land make thereof, and not fly into a prevailing faction in a House of Commons, or in both houses ; or if he would have any thing altered, that he seek it in its proper place, and obtain it by its proper means ; viz. a free and unconstrained consent both of commons, lords, and king : that they neither use fraud nor force to obtain their ends, but patiently wait till such a conjunction of time come, as that they may obtain them by the due and legal means which lead thereunto ; nor vainly think, that men can live under any

government where there are no failures ; and consider, that it is much better to bear the smart of an angry pimple than to rub it into a sore, and then apply such medicines as draw down the whole humour of the body to that sore, and to raise such an inflammation as may foul the bone and beget a gangrene ; and no gangrene is more mortal than diffidence and distrust betwixt the governor and the representatives of them that are to be governed. For that man that is afraid of his own sword dares not draw it to defend himself, lest it penetrate his own bowels, and so he trusts his enemy rather than his champion. The new experience of this God avert from this kingdom ; and God grant that the one give no occasion of this distrust, nor the other take it, or, by causeless distrust, draw it on him themselves.

The process or way of management of the jealousies between Lambert and the grandees of parliament.

But to return to our story. Haslerig, acquainted with the confederation of the army, presently stomachs it, and the army is wrought on to make some submissive petition, which, when it came to be penned, was a downright expostulation ; for they desire, that whoever informed the parliament against the army might be brought to condign punishment ; and that, since no army could be governed without a martial law, they might be fully

authorised therein. They pretend every free-man hath a right to petition, much more the body of the army ; and are answered, that then they ought to be very careful of the matter of their petition, that it be peaceable, and tending to the honour of the parliament. And here is another twist of the guts ; and the mercury which must make way **through** this is a private intelligence betwixt Haslerig and Monk. Monk promises to assert their authority, and to march into England. In the mean time to separate the soldier from his officer, the leading members of parliament plot, and declare they are making provision for the payment of the arrears of the common soldiers, and that they would make assignations to them out of the estates of delinquents (that is to say, the king, the churches, and the loyal subjects' forfeited estates) as they called them ; and lest the army should raise money by their own authority, they set forth, that whatever single person or aggregate body should raise money without the authority of parliament, should be accounted a traitor. Monk, heartening them, these parliament-men are the more resolute, and they are casting the army into a new model ; and Fleetwood, Monk, Ludlow, Haslerig, Morley, Walton, and Overton, as commissioners, are to have

The danger
the king's
party was
in.

the authority of a lieutenant-general, and this is countenanced by Haslerig's party. But Lambert's party meet to interrupt this, and they choose ten persons as a council of state, viz. Fleetwood, Lambert, Whitlock, Vane, Desborough, Sir James Harrington, Major Salway, Colonel Berry, and Sydenham, and that insinuating Scot, Archibald Johnston ; and these men have that black design of really confiscating all the estates of the king's party, and disposing them into the hands of their own : nay some said, of massacring the chief of them. Which resolution, though in a Christian commonwealth may seem very dismal; yet it is not to be expected that the powers which by injustice have raised themselves, being in danger, should spare others, and prefer their security before their own. And history makes it plain, that in most places where natural policy prevails, proscriptions and confiscations, and even death itself, follows suspected persons and neutrals, as well as opposers; though these outrageous proceedings never long prospered, Divine Providence usually punishing such cruelty with such misadventures as the actors of it could not foresee, or would not believe, till the whip was upon the back.

Things were grown now to that height,

that Lambert's party will not let the parliament-men meet, but stops the very speaker in King's-street in his passage to the house, and makes him return; and the regiments face one another, but have so much wit as to forbear acts of hostility, and yet all this both on one side and the other must be interpreted a maintaining of the privileges of parliament; but the consequence of this was, this parliament met no more. And now the men of the army's party raise a committee of safety of twenty-three persons, to execute all the powers of the late council of state; and changes come on so fast, that (as an Englishman) I am ashamed to mention them. But sagacious Monk all this while steadily proceeds, and lets the army know by a courteous letter how dangerous it was to displace officers with him but by sentence of a court-martial, or by the authority of himself as general; for otherwise the inferior officers would be apt to affront the superior, or to withstand the civil authority; and he privately intimated to some of the parliament-men, that if they would resolutely assert their own authority, he would justify it; and this animates them to proceed in displacing those disaffected to them.

A new model of government.

Monk abets the parliament against the army.

And now his great sagacity and good fortune come upon the stage to perfect the last

His character.

scene ; and he was a man cut out to do such a work. For he was a gentleman of a good birth and blood ; for his ancestors were derived from Arthur Plantagenet, natural son to Edward IV., by Elizabeth Lucy, his concubine, which Arthur married the daughter of Edward Grey, Viscount Lisle, sister and heir to John her brother : the rest I leave unto the heralds ; (and so none was more proper to restore the royal line than he, that had this consanguinity with it, though much time had elapsed since.) He was a person of a natural and intrepid courage, and who had made the sword his profession as soon as ever he was able to wield it : he was bred up under great captains, and very early taken notice of by that great prince and soldier, Henry of Orange. He was a man of deep thoughts and few words, and what he wanted in elocution he had in judgment ; and he had a natural secrecy in him prevalent upon all these qualifications of a soldier, which made him so fit an instrument in the hand of Divine Providence to work his majesty's restoration. Hence he carried it all so closely, that I believe no man to this day can positively say that he designed any more than a general quiet of the land : and so he framed his designs suitable to the opportunities that were

given him ; but that he wished that that might be procured by the means of his majesty's happy return, no man can rationally doubt. And in this he shewed the solidity of his judgment; in that when despairing Haslerig and his party offered him the crown it was no temptation to him.

Monk being now to cut out his model, like a good workman, first looks after his tools ; and so separating his army in Scotland into several places, that they might not (if any such humour was in them) confederate together, he so lays this design, that on a sudden he changes such officers as he knew unsecure to him and well-affected to his opposers ; and having preserved such of his officers as the council of the army here in England had resolved to remove, he knew these men would be well fixed to him, and so as he had opportunity advanced them ; and he had so many good agents among his common soldiers, that the disaffected officers had no great influence upon them. For his conjunction with the civil power was a great assurance to his army, that they should be well paid and provided for ; and his declaration unto the civil power, that he resolved that the military should be subservient to them, put them at great ease,

Monk's first policies to make his own army firm to himself.

that this army would not be so restless, and humorous, and uncontrolable as the other.

And thus all changes are very hopeful, but usually, when grounded upon faction, as deceitful one as the other; for upon a moveable thing (as faction is) an immoveable (as peace should be) cannot be well set. Soon after this follows as great an instance of God's (not man's) governing the world, (and of his working light out of darkness, and of the periods that he gives to men's and states' prosperity, setting bounds and limits thereunto, that men may acknowledge that it is not their sword, but his hand, that helps them, or that it is he that takes away or sets the edge of the sword,) as perchance many ages in any history hath afforded. For henceforward Lambert's veteran, prosperous, and lately victorious army seems emasculated, and gives as little instance of courage as of counsel or conduct; for, they perceiving that Monk was designing to support that power that they were intending much to lessen, if not overthrow, they seem on a sudden to be amated; and Lambert thus unsteady, Monk and he interchange some letters, which Monk did that he might protract time the better and model his army; and like a wise general, having a very good reputation everywhere where he had been, he

writes into Ireland to satisfy that army of his intentions, and he proposes to Fleetwood, and the great men of the army at London, to send up commissioners amongst them, to shew that his design was no more than to preserve the rights of the people and the liberties of parliament. He holds intelligence with some active and leading ministers, especially one Mr Bowles at York, who had great influence upon the Lord Fairfax, for he knew how considerable that great man was in those parts ; and with some old officers likewise, especially one Smithson. On the other side, the southern army, with the countenance of the independent churches, think it not unnecessary to send some commissioners to Monk into Scotland ; and the men of God, who had decried and outed the bishops for meddling with any thing that was secular, civil, or military, from the very beginning of these revolutions, are the active instruments in all important secular or military affairs, as hath been touched upon already : and therefore Mr Garryll, (a great independent minister,) is principally to manage this affair with Monk ; and he is to let him know how fatal such a breach, as was like to be, would prove to the people of God, that the independent churches would not interpose or justify the right of ei-

Commis-
sioners sent
to Monk.

ther party; but they thought it fit to lay before Monk that his province was only to keep Scotland quiet, and not to engage in the differences of England; and therefore, since he could not have any true information of the state of affairs, nor had he any call thereunto, (for he was not fanatic enough to pretend to that,) it became him not to interpose. In the mean time, while Monk's commissioners were treating in London, and these with him in Scotland; he had gained so much time as to purge the disaffected officers out of his own army, though they were neither inconsiderable men, nor of a very small number. And though his commissioners at London had made up a rash peace; yet did he not want dexterity to cavil upon seeming good reasons, and to require a further explanation. All this while Lambert's army (as if it had a damp or blast from heaven put upon it) makes no brisk progress or advance towards Scotland; only they marched as far as Newcastle, which prevented Monk's first design of surprising that place; and there passed frivolous treaties betwixt him and some of Lambert's officers. But in the mean time Monk holds close correspondence with Scott and Haslerig, and those of the council of state here; and he writes unto the city of London, that it be-

came them to be more active in the vindicating their own liberties than hitherto they had been ; and thus he keeps up the fermentation through the whole body. And that he might appear to proceed deliberately and calmly, and not to give jealousy that he was giving way to the Scots, either to cast off the yoke which they lay under, or to arm themselves, or that his kindness and better usage of them than formerly should raise any new jealousies, that the king was in the bottom of this design, he leaves such garrisons in Scotland in such important places, and so aptly disposes them, that they might communicate and assist each other, and be able to bridle the Scots if they innovated. And he gives the Scotch nobility no further leave to arm themselves than might secure them from surprisals at home, if in his absence, by a contrary party, danger to the nation should appear.

And now with the main of his body he draws to England, and fixes his camp along the river Tweed at a town called the Coldstream ; and this encourages the council of state here at London so to own him, as to send him a commission to be general of all the forces in England and Scotland. The city of London is now animated to refuse taxes, and send by their sword-bearer a par-

Monk's
march into
England.

particular message to him. Portsmouth declares if not for Monk, yet for Monk's declaration; and that eminent seaman and most generous-hearted and intelligent person, Lawson, (for I had afterwards good acquaintance with him when he was highly loyal,) did the like with the fleet. And the Irish brigade here in England brake off from Lambert, and are brought over unto Monk. Nay even in Ireland the chief of the army there seem to own his proceedings; and London and Portsmouth and the fleet so startle Lambert, that being unwilling to grapple with Monk in Scotland, whether by his own intimidations, or party's advice, is uncertain, he chooses rather to retreat, and assist his friends at London, and to reduce Portsmouth, than to contest Monk or secure the north. And now not only others, but his own army look upon him in a dwindling condition, and so these news and want of pay, (which had pressed him for some time) daily dispirit and lessen his army; but what gave them their death's wound was, that they understood Fleetwood was now truly enlightened, and had laid down his commission, and acknowledged that the hand of God was upon them, and blasted their counsels, and spit in their faces. And thus they must end in scriptural phrases, as they began their re-

Fleetwood
lays down
his com-
mission.

bellion with misapplications of texts of scripture ; for until this time all that was applicable unto God's people, was still applicable unto them ; and their cause must be supposed to be God's cause ; and then " Meroz, and all that came not out to their assistance, was to be curst bitterly, because they came not out to the help of the Lord against the mighty ;" when at the same time they were hunting the anointed of the Lord as a partridge upon the mountains ; and God was to be praised for the avenging of his Israel, " when the people willingly offered themselves, and when the governors of the land offered themselves willingly among the people : " and when they were exercising the height of their cruelty against their brethren, they had (forsooth) commission from heaven to do it : for God had made them an harrow even with teeth. And I remember, among many other such misapplications, I took great notice once how satisfied Cromwell's spirit was when he interlarded in one of his letters out of Ireland, that he did hope " God would deliver him from the wrongful dealings of men, that so he might keep his commandments ; " that was, as I conceived, to deliver him from the uncompliant part of his own army ; for he looked for obedience from them

when he had paid it neither to his prince nor his own masters, the two houses ; but few smell their own dung. And thus this meteor being burnt out, and ending in a stench, we will conclude this part of this story with a scripture phrase likewise, that "doubtless there is a God that judgeth in the earth ;" and pray that men would truly consider things by the law of God, the rule of their actions, before they apply those general words of Scripture which justify or condemn an action, lest they take the name of God in vain.

The general desire of settlement through-out the kingdom.

We are now come unto our last stage ; and as seditious tumults overthrew our laws, so now the seditious tumultuaries, sensible of their own entanglements, are possessed with general and violent passions to be restored to such settled laws as may free them from the disorders and miseries which their first tumults had brought them into ; therefore the poet was a prophet that set down the beginning and foretold the end of such like troubles in this distich : viz.

*Principium fuit abs iratâ plebe tumultus ;
Finis ab iratâ plebe tumultus erit.*

For it hath ever been observed, that multitudes in commotions, as they usually over-

throw through ignorance and by violence settled and ancient government, so, after a little experience, they find licence or licentiousness will never have wisdom enough to plant true liberty; and then they discern their present state of liberty to be much worse than their former state, which loudly they called servitude.

Fleetwood having thus laid down his charge, distracted thoughts must needs possess his army, and they that could not depend upon themselves must seek a support from some other body: and therefore now they are to call together the parliament again, for this false tail (or word parliament) was to be tied to any docked rump; and so several members meeting at the speaker's house, whither came divers of the colonels, they draw up the regiments in Lincolns-Inn-fields, and the speaker assumes the chair, and then Popham, Thompson, Sir Anthony Ashly Cooper, Alured, and Markham, are commissioned to order and conduct the army, and to suppress the insurrections, &c., and to observe the directions of parliament. And the first thing these new masters do, is to command Lambert to disband his forces; and that we may perceive that this was God's, and not man's hand, as Monk was now leaving Scotland in a secure and peaceable state, and himself

The army in these times seek their asylum in a parliament.

New governors of it.

Changes in
Ireland.

marching into England with the gross of his army, (which was very small and inconsiderable to do his work, unless both the time and the work had been God's ; for his army was not above 4000 effective good foot, and under 1000 horse, and Lambert's and the army at London was twice as many,) so in Ireland the like inclinations are found, and Dublin castle is surprised, and the governor Jones, and the commissioner Corbet, and many other considerable persons were taken in it, and Sir Charles Coot overcomes all his difficulties at Connaught ; and into England Monk finds his march so open and free, that all the way up to London he meets with congratulations and addresses, civilities and honours, but nothing of opposition or disputes ; and the late general, the Lord Fairfax, now joining with him, (though the governor of Hull, Overton, stood misaffected,) throughout all Yorkshire nothing appears against him ; and as he approaches nearer London, he hath more observances ; the parliament, the city, the great lords, all send messages, and discover somewhat by that pulse of their desires ; and his temper was so fitted to understand other men's thoughts and conceal his own, that it is an easy thing to know whose instrument he was, and to whom to attribute all this,

We are told by a certain writer who it was that principally managed his affairs, viz. Mr Clarges, (who was his wife's brother, and who was known to be an active and busy person,) and after some time, or upon his coming to London, how Mr Morris, afterwards Sir William, and secretary of state, was called up to him from the west, who was a very good scholar, (if he used it not a little too much,) and a man of a sober judgment and well affected to the peace of this nation. These two persons, especially Clarges, in that history are represented as giving him still such advices as disintricated him from many difficulties; but so little is assigned either to himself or Morris, that I think he had not right done him; for by what I learned from several that were sent unto him upon the way, and who treated with him singly, he seemed to me the great master and conductor of his own affairs; and that that important counsel which was to remove the parliament or Lambert's army at London out of it into separate and distant places and quarters, to make way that his army might singly quarter in and about it, should be drawn out of any quiver but his own, being business within his own sphere and profession, seems an entrenchment on his foresight. But this is certain, that the great

Clarges
and Morris.

The English, or Lambert's army, removed out of London, to make way for Monk's Scotch-English army.

est men stand in need of active and able ministers when they are engaged in such important affairs as this great man was at this time ; and therefore I would have every one of them have their due share of their merits, and no more ; for it was very obvious, had not the two armies been kept from mingling, they would hardly have been kept from quarrelling.

Monk's
march into
London.

All things thus clear for his reception at London, he was brought in with great triumph ; and the reputation of his valour, and his subtilty in conducting and making use of an army, and the conjunctures of time so allayed the late surges of our tempestuous seas, that all things seemed new becalmed. And yet after this we shall find a change or two more ; for Haslerig and his party being now on the top of the wheel, they could manage nothing without violence, passion, and headiness ; and therefore having contributed so much towards the removing of all Monk's difficulties, they thought Monk was equally obliged to maintain and settle all they had projected. So as here is another twist of the guts, for the mercury had not yet passed through Haslerig and his party. Therefore, that they might dip Monk at first into a scarlet dye, or involve him in the same crimes

Haslerig's
activity
and his dis-
appoint-
ment.

with themselves, an oath is prepared for the council of state and members of parliament, which abjures the king and the House of Lords. This divers of the soberest members of parliament refusing, he takes sanctuary under that example, and recommends to them rather the quieting the fermentation among themselves, than raising of it either in that house, or in the kingdom in general. But his caution was neither rudely rejected nor kindly entertained. Next the danger of restoring the king and House of Lords, that which this prevailing body of men apprehended most, was the convening the secluded members, and in this he kept himself very much undiscovered, and was the safer thereby; and unless it were to his two confidants, (though most of the addresses that were made to him by the nobility and gentry upon the way had a tendency thereunto, or rather for a new free parliament,) he was undiscernible.

With great ceremony he is conducted to the House of Commons, and you must think a very learned and eloquent speech was made to him, when an illiterate and even ungrammatical man (Lenthal the speaker) made it, for so certainly he was. Herein they acknowledge his great services, and compliment them; he professes his great obligations and

Monk conducted to the House of Commons.

Monk's jealousy.

The city of London's backwardness to pay taxes.

resolution of serving them. But at the core both sides soon began to putrify ; and (like a pear) we may perceive that the transition from ripe to rotten was very speedy ; for they are not long before he observes that they call him commissioner Monk, not general, and he as soon dives into the meaning. And now arises a new neglect of this new government ; for the city of London desiring to be excused from paying of taxes till the parliament was filled with a just number of representatives, Haslerig and Scott, and the rest of the general council of state, take such an offence thereat, that they think to employ their new unsatisfied general upon a design that would be too hard for him, or was like to make him odious ; (and we know the number of his soldiers for the doing so great a work was very small,) and he is required by the parliament to seize on the persons of eleven eminent but refractory citizens, (whereof he took in his custody nine,) and to commit them to the Tower, and to pull down the posts and chains of the avenues, and at last to take down the gates and portcullises of the city, and to quarter his soldiers there ; which command being very displeasing to himself as well as to his own commanders and soldiers, and some of the wisest citizens humbly and submissively rea-

soning the same with him, he writes to the house to mitigate the severity of his orders : but they the more inflamed at it, make their directions the more positive. But he observing the temper of his new masters, and the resolvedness of the city, and having some whispers what they meant to do with him, in case he returned among them, he thought it wiser to conciliate the great corporation to him than to depend on his new masters, to whom, if he had returned, it was verily believed they would have sent his head to one place and his body to another. And therefore valuing his own strength with the conjunction of this body of men, and the inclinations of the whole nation, and he having wrought upon divers of the commanders of the other part of the army, he thought he had passed Rubicon ; and therefore was with speed to maintain what he had with so much resolution begun. Whereupon he immediately writes to the house of parliament, (as they called it,) and complains of Lambert's and Vane's and Ludlow's being too much countenanced by them against him, and that the most sober and conscientious laymen and ministers of the kingdom were excluded from employment in either kind, by tendering them oaths which they could not take ; whereupon he grounds

Monk's taking party with them.

Writes to the house to fill up their number.

a desire, that within two or three days they would issue out writs to fill up their numbers, that this body sitting some time, a full and freely-elected house of parliament might ere long succeed them. The house dissembles the resentment they have of this letter, and Scott is sent unto him to assure him of their high opinion of his services, and to recall him to his lodgings at Whitehall again. But he resolves, having reconciled himself to the citizens, not to change his post, and in London he admits a conference between the secluded and sitting parliament-men. And the result is, that the secluded persons should be re-admitted, and that new writs should issue out for the summoning of a parliament to meet at Westminster the twentieth day of April, 1660. And, that the secluded members might securely take their places, he marches now down to Whitehall with his army, and causes his guards to secure their passage to the house; and then to his own army, and the dispersed regiments he gives assurance that nothing was intended by all this of alteration of government, but that it should continue as a free state and commonwealth; and more amply to the other regiments that lay dispersed he communicates the same by several letters.

The secluded members re-admitted, and a new parliament summoned.

The secluded members thus admitted, Haslerig and some other leaders address to him, and tempt him to take upon him the government itself; and though he refused it, yet he used them civilly, and promised Haslerig, if he would acquiesce, he should find all security; and the ambassador of the king of France, having winded this proposition, finds means for a conference with Clarges, and to desire him to assure the general, that if he had any aim to assume the government himself, his master would be a very steady friend to him; or if his eye was cast upon the king, he would be ministerial thereunto; (for he that had dismissed him his own country, would have been very loth to have seen his majesty return home without his having been instrumental therein; or he that had cast in some of his coloquintida into our pottage all this time, was unwilling it should want a little of his cookery now.) But though this wise general admitted a respectful conference with him, yet he made him soon perceive he was not susceptible of French counsels. And the general was tempted by an offer of Hampton Court, and the lands thereunto belonging, to be settled on him and his heirs, which he refused; but afterwards took the stewardship thereof. The parliament thus met, they make

Monk
tempted to
take on
him the
crown.

The French
ambassa-
dor busy.

A tax of
100,000*l.*
per mensem
for six
months.

an assessment of 100,000*l.* per mensem for six months ; they settle the militia both in the city and counties ; they abrogate the engagement against the king, and take it off of the file ; they repeal the act for the former council of state, and make a new council consisting of 31 men, wherein were Pierpoint and Crew, Lord Fairfax and Hollis, Sir Anthony Ashly Cooper, and Sir Gilbert Gerrard, Lord Chief Justice St Johns, and Sir Harbottle Grimston, &c. these gentlemen I mention, that we may know who at that time predominated. Some of the old officers of the old army began to mutiny against the parliament and council, as if this body of men were in the direct way of bringing in the king. The general quiets all, telling them, that they were not long now to sit ; that a new and free parliament was to meet ; and that all persons that had been of the king's party were to be secluded from all employment both in state and army ; and with these anodynes he hinders further fermentation. Upon the dissolution of this parliament, a new one being called, let the prohibitions be what they would, elections are freely made of the royal party ; for they had made addresses, expressing their amicable dispositions and inclinations to a general amnesty, and their readiness to observe

The general's policy to quiet the mutinies of the officers of the old army.

Elections of several of the king's party.

the determination of the expected parliament. And therefore it cannot be now thought, but that it was a fit season for the king to make addresses to the leading men, and for them to make professions to him of their inclinations to revert to their duty. And after some time, the great lords, Warwick, and Manchester, and Say, and some chief members, have private conferences with some persons of the king's party, as Sir Orlando Bridgman, Sir Geoffry Palmer, and myself, the unworthiest. Not many weeks after, without the knowledge of the lords, Mr Annesly, (now lord privy seal) Sir Anthony Ashly-Cooper, and Sir William Morris met with the same persons from the general, to the end that the king might see their good inclinations through a medium which was not likely to deceive him. And though they did the same thing afterwards themselves by particular messengers whom they sent over to the king, yet they thought this a good means early to be rightly understood ; and the general was so well satisfied, that he confessed that there was not a meeting in town but he had some intelligence of it, save of this, which assured him of their secrecy, and yet he knew not that the same persons met at the same time with the lords.

Conferences between several lords and some of the king's friends.

This I say not to creep into a little share in bringing back our king ; for from the bottom of my heart I think that it is a sacrilege to rob God's providence of any part of it ; unto him belongs the glory of the whole, who only can rule the unruly affections of men ; he only could still this storm and allay the madness of this people. If he had not in this work made his own arm bare, and his interposition visible, man's wisdom or policy had never brought it about ; downright force (and that must have been foreign,) was improbable to have done it ; but to effect it by bowing the hearts of all Israel to their exiled David, and without blood, could be no hand but his, who said, " he would utterly destroy Israel but save Judah, but not by the bow or sword." And he that out of the series of this story makes not this observation himself, deserves not a proof thereof by a recapitulation of the particulars. Next unto the divine hand, not the honour, but the issue of it is due to the first rebellious principles of all our innovators ; for a wise, loyal, and noble lord was wont to say, that these principles were so false and so pernicious, that they had scarce left virtue enough among men to keep society peaceably and beneficially together. They were made to overthrow, but not to

settle any government, but after they have been experimented, they are discovered ; and men grow weary of them, and, as a natural consequent thereof, are ready to resettle themselves upon that foundation which they had overthrown.

These two things well weighed, the great man, General Monk, may well have assigned to him the rest ; for though he moved perchance as a natural instrument at first, and discerned not what would be the end, yet surely at last he was a voluntary and moral instrument in God's hand, and, by a loyal heart, prudent head, and stout hand, designed and effected what was so happily brought about.

Had he expounded himself some little time before this to that very prudent young gentleman, Sir John Greenville, who was introduced to him by a safe hand, Sir William Morris, and who was received upon the great good affection the general bore unto his family ; and it was a grateful one, for the general had been bred up a young soldier under Sir Richard Greenville, who was an old experienced soldier, though his nature was tempered with great severity, if not cruelty. But the father of this gentleman, though not bred a soldier, yet was so naturally adapted

Monk's
conference
with Sir
John
Greenville.

to it, and was so full of humanity as well as clear courage, that, having been well acquainted with him as a member of the Long Parliament, I was heartily sorry when, though so honourably and victoriously, he fell at the rencounter at Lansdown; and he left this noble gentleman, now Earl of Bath, and his younger brother Bernard, heirs of his loyalty and courage. By this gentleman then the general had received a letter from the king, to which he made a dutiful and wise reply, but wrote not back. However, by the general's advice, the king removes immediately out of the Spanish quarters, and goes to Breda. All this I thus early bring in, that it may be discerned how his majesty's affairs in so short a time afterwards so soon ripened, and how wisely the general and his ministers managed the same, and with what prudence and authority they quieted the soldiery, who of all parties were taking care for their own arrears and pay. About this time Lambert, who was a prisoner in the Tower, makes an escape from thence, hoping to be the head of the discontented party in the army and nation. But the general hearing that he was gone towards the north, sent forces so early to oppose him in divers places, and committing a chief care of that affair to Colonel In-

Lambert
escapes out
of the
Tower, and
heads a dis-
contented
party,

goldsbys, (a gentleman of a good family, and a very daring and expert officer, and one grown sensible how he was deceived, when he was unhappily drawn in whilst he was a very young man by Cromwell, who was his kinsman, to command a regiment in his army, and who now sought some occasion to signalize his loyalty, which he was prepared and ready to have done in Sir George Booth's rising,) this gentleman, with Colonel Streater, having precisely heard where Lambert was, about Daventry, so briskly engaged him, (and both Lambert and his men were perceived so soon to be faint and irresolute) that the two parties coming to grapple for it, some of Lambert's men soon came over to Ingoldsby, and others gave the sign of their submission by holding down the noses of their pistols. Major Creed, who was with Lambert, endeavoured to procure from Ingoldsby a permission that Lambert might escape; but being refused that, Lambert by flight endeavoured to make the same, but Ingoldsby, by a swift horse, soon stopped him, and singly charged him, and then he as meanly surrendered himself his prisoner. There were but few men slain, but many taken prisoners; and it was all the blood that was spilt throughout this great action of bringing home the king. This

Defeated
by Ingolds-
by.

small rencounter was a very important action ; for here was Colonel Okey, and Axtell, and Cobbet, and Creed, and divers other stout commanders, who were as resolute men as any were in the old army ; and if they had had time given them for all the discontented persons to have come in, and had had one day of good success, the reduction of them might have been as difficult a business as by God's blessing it was an easy one.

New parliament.

The old parliament having dissolved themselves, and a new called to meet on the 25th of April, 1660, Sir Harbottle Grimston being chosen speaker of the House of Commons, and the Earl of Manchester speaker of the House of Lords, the king adjusted his business so well, that in this nick of time he had sent over again Sir John Greenville with a commission to Monk to be captain-general of all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland ; and he likewise brought letters to both houses of parliament, the city of London, and the navy ; and the general's letter was to be communicated to the officers of the army and the council of state. The letter to the houses had a declaration inclosed in it, and so had that to the commons. It promised an act of oblivion and general pardon ; in point of religion, such a liberty to tender

The king's letters to the parliament, &c.

consciences, who disturbed not the peace of the kingdom, as should be agreed on by parliament: it promised payment of all arrears to the soldiery. And his majesty's letters had so good an influence on both the houses, (though it began in the lords' house,) that they forthwith declare, that by the ancient and fundamental laws of the kingdom the government ought to be administered by the king with the lords and commons; and thus his majesty's title is acknowledged, and then the two speakers and members of both houses (though it was declared that there was no necessity thereof, the title not depending thereon) attend upon the ceremony, with the heralds, who are appointed to make proclamation both at Westminster-hall, Whitehall, Temple-Bar, and the old Exchange, &c. of his majesty's right of succession: and 50,000*l.* is ordered to be sent to the king for the expences of his majesty's return, and 10,000*l.* for his Royal Highness the Duke of York, and 5000*l.* for the Duke of Gloucester; and answers are made to his majesty's letters, and select commissioners from both houses are sent to his majesty with the votes of recognition: as likewise others from the city, with a present of 10,000*l.* to his majesty, 1000*l.* to the Duke of York, and another to the Duke

The parliament's recognition of the king's title.

of Gloucester; and the journals are searched, and those acts and orders razed out which were inconsistent with the kingly government. These commissioners find his majesty at the Hague; and the English navy, under Admiral Montague, attending on that coast to waft him over, and with instructions to observe all his majesty's commands. The Duke of York is declared by the king lord high-admiral of England, and Montague his vice-admiral.

The king
leaves Hol-
land, and

lands at
Dover.

About the 23d of May the king takes shipping, paying all due respects to his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, to his sister, the Princess Royal of Orange, (that family during his whole time of affliction having highly obliged him,) and to the states of Holland, who had very magnificently treated and presented him, and the weather being very stormy, it was two days before his majesty made Dover road, at which town he landed; but he made little or no stay there, because the town was not capable to receive the great train of nobility, gentry, and others who were come to the shore to receive him; yet the magistrates attended him, and the minister presented him with a large bible with gold clasps. That night he lay at Canterbury, where the recorder made him an eloquent speech, and

the mayor presented him with a tankard of massy gold. The general received the order of knighthood, and afterwards of the garter; the Earl of Southampton was sworn privy-counsellor, and Mr Morris knighted, and declared secretary of state. Whoever could have painted joy best might have seen it here at its height in every man's complexion, for from Dover to London I saw not a discontented face; and I believe the greatest crowds of people, with the greatest chearfulness upon all the road, and in all places where his majesty made never so short a stay, were to be observed, and as great joys and triumphs as ever were in this nation. His passage through London to Whitehall was very solemn and magnificent, and all the streets and windows were made partakers of the bravery; and the lord mayor and the several companies, in great order and rich accoutrements, attend him. He entered the city on his birth-day, the 29th of May; so as it was a regeneration, and because his chapel was out of order, he made his presence-chamber his oratory wherein to pay his devotions that night to God. And thus the good angel of God brought him honourably and peaceably home, and set him upon his father's throne, where may the same God long preserve him. Amen.

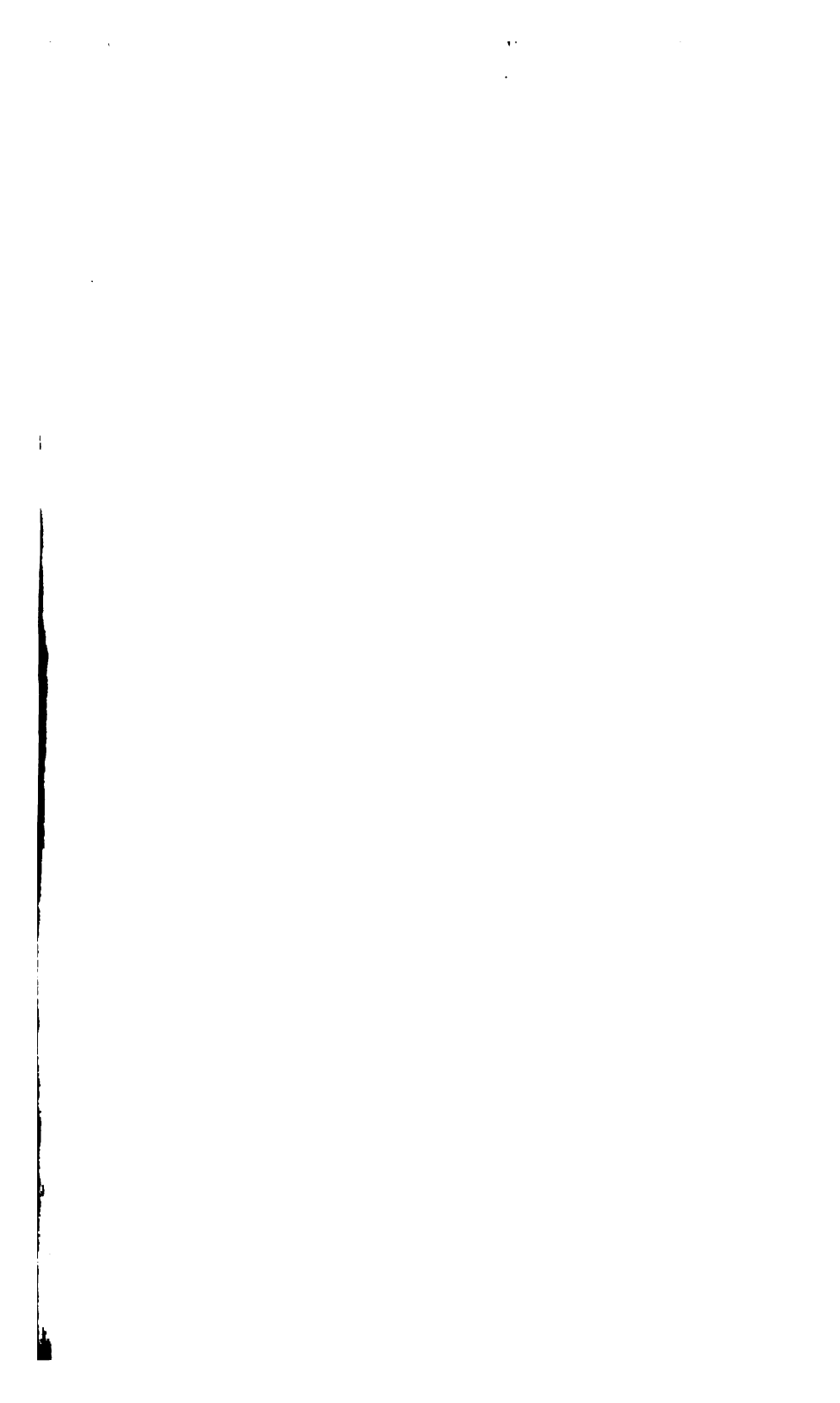
His happy
and glorious
return
to his palace
at
Whitehall.

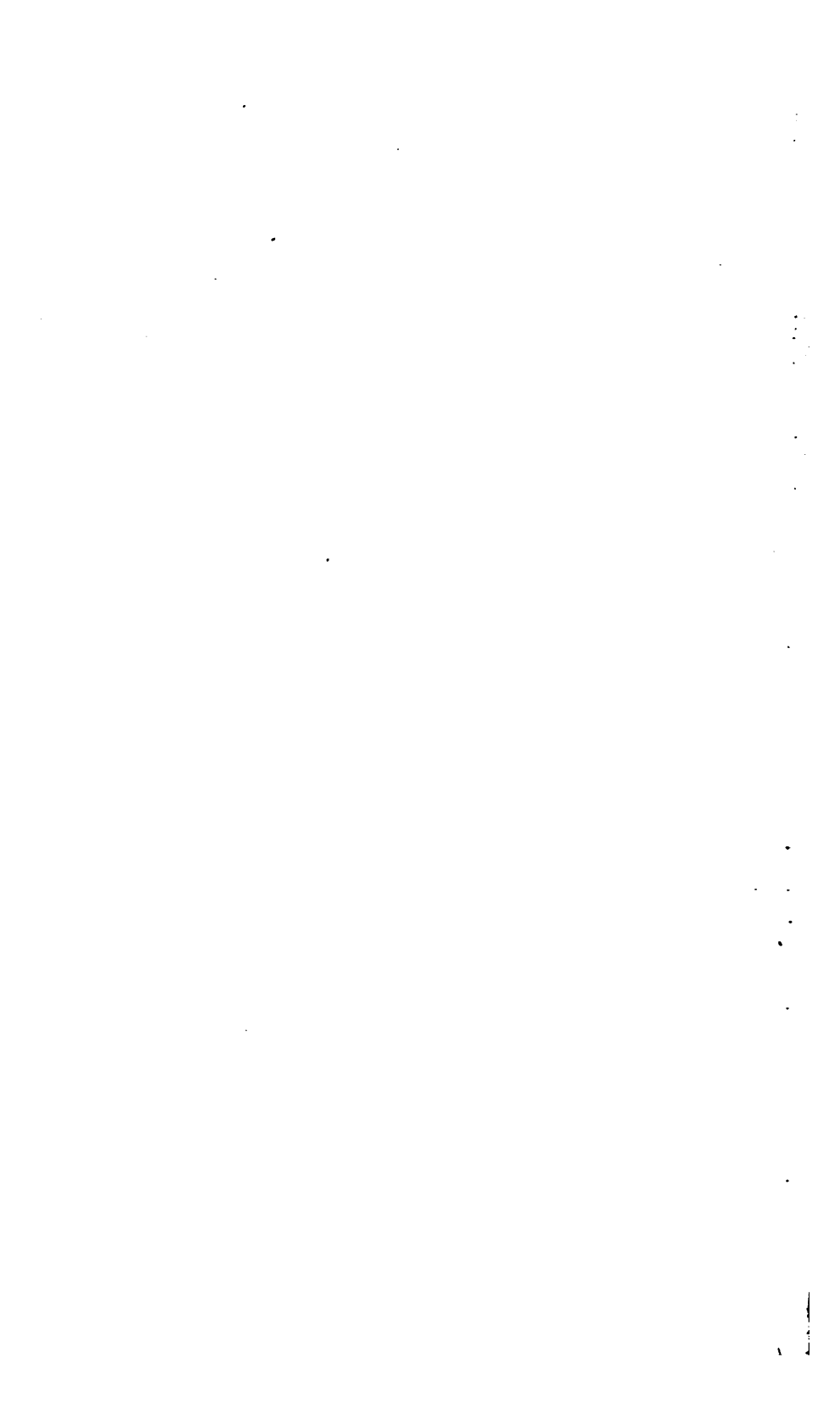
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